



Daily Report

West Europe

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EU: No Split With U.S. Seen on Combatting Terrorism

LD1003174796 Rome RAI Uno Television Network in Italian 1230 GMT 10 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] And now we go over to Palermo, where the European ministers' meeting is drawing to a close. They principally discussed the international struggle against terrorism. We go over to Marco Ravaglioli, who is in Palermo. Marco, first off, a question: is it true that there is a difference of opinion between Europe and the United States over the way to combat terrorism?

[Ravaglioli] To tell the truth, here in Palermo where the summit has just finished, people are speaking in increasingly mild tones on the question that has been so heavily highlighted by the papers this morning. It is true that Europe does not agree with the United States on isolating those countries that are accused of harboring terrorism. But it is also true that the critical dialogue that the European Union [EU] intends to create, according to the EU foreign ministers meeting here in Palermo, is a dialogue that can in no way be considered as indicating a split with the United States.

At the news conference that you are watching now, which has just ended, the basis of this European dialogue was illustrated. The final document approved by the foreign ministers was presented. Europe repeats its strong condemnation of terrorism and the commitment to concrete measures to combat it, and if it declares it wants to establish contacts with countries under suspicion, it does this in terms that are far from indulgent. It asks Iran to unequivocally dissociate itself from terrorism. It condemns Libya for having called the massacres in Israel acts of self-defense. As for Syria, Europe calls for it to end the delays in the peace process in the Middle East. These are the main points on which Europe will present a united front at the Egypt conference on terrorism, and immediately after will send its troika to Iran, Syria, and Libya. The hope is to convince those countries to associate themselves with the anti-terrorism process, or at least not to obstruct it. If this does not happen, the European reaction will be swift, as could the blockade that the United States called for today. And that's all from Palermo.

EU: EP Report Stresses Solidarity With South

BR0803144496 Madrid ARC in Spanish 8 Mar 96 p 34

[Report by Alberto Sotillo: "European Parliament Demands Maastricht Reform Should Guarantee Solidarity With South"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels — In its broad program of reforms for the Turin Intergovernmental Conference [IGC], the European Parliament [EP] has voiced the demand put forward by Spain and other southern countries that guarantees be given that EU enlargement will not happen at the expense of the "cohesion principle," that is, solidarity on the part of the wealthier countries with the poorer regions of the EU. This is a thorny question for which a gentlemen's agreement is being sought.

The Reflection Group responsible for preparing the IGC avoided raising the issue of the cost of enlargement and its consequences for the financing of the EU or the structural and cohesion funds, fearing that raising this issue would lead to endless discussions, but finally the EP did at least dare to raise the question of the criteria that are to be used to ensure that enlargement will not affect the principle of solidarity with the South, a principle which so directly concerns Spain and the Mediterranean countries.

The EP's proposals for the IGC which must be approved at the next plenary session in Strasbourg on 13 March next include a whole chapter devoted to "strengthening economic and social cohesion" in which it is stated that "the prospect of enlargement to include less developed countries requires a key role to be assigned to the principle of economic and social cohesion as the foundation of all of the EU's actions and policies."

The no less thorny question of financial prospects — including the allocation of structural and cohesion funds to poorer countries — is also addressed in the EP's proposals, which suggest that "by 1999 a system of adequate resources must be established, in accordance with the principles of solidarity among member states, subsidiarity, the relative prosperity of member states, and economic and social cohesion."

Spanish representatives have voiced the concern that, if the IGC approves the abolition of the right of veto, a distribution of the structural and cohesion funds might be imposed which would harm the Mediterranean countries' interests. This prospect is not a piece of political science fiction, considering the huge cost of enlargement and the northern countries' increasing reluctance to maintain solidarity with the south. People's Party deputies have told our newspaper that a future People's

rights for those in work in order to make it easier for people to hire workers.

[Santer] We think, for our part, that the unemployment rate, the average unemployment rate in the European Union is too high. We are now close to 20 million jobless. We cannot create the confidence to the European Union from the citizens. Therefore, we initiated a pact, as we call it, a pact of confidence for employment with the governments and the social partners at the European level. And therefore, we are very pleased to come here to have a meeting with the social partners, with the CBI [Confederation of British Industry] and the trade unions together, and to see how we can work to have a common strategy — convergence policy — to reduce unemployment and to create new jobs.

[Snow] Right. Well now, of course you know that the government here believes unemployment is higher in Europe, partly because of the social chapter, and because we have opted out, we are in a better position.

[Santer] That is not the position as we understand, because the social chapter does not cost any more expenditure and cost to the enterprises. The best proof and the best test is that many of the British companies also accept the works council, even as a provision of a social chapter.

[Snow] Now you are in the process of going round all the countries ahead of the IGC [Inter-Governmental Council]. Let us be candid, do you find Britain in the heart of the debate over Europe, or do you find us rather difficult, out on the fringes?

[Santer] You see, at this moment each of the member states is producing its own paper, its own opinion to the IGC, and of course there are many varieties and diversities from one country to another, from the Nordic countries to the southern countries, coming through to the United Kingdom. So, we have not to dramatize this situation. Of course, if Great Britain has some different position as the European Commission than other member-states, we are before the IGC, which will be launched at the end of March, and only through the momentum of the negotiations through the IGC, that we can see if we can come to some results and to some compromise.

EU: Italy Rejects Criticism of EU Presidency

BR0803105596 Brussels EUROPEAN VOICE
in English 7-13 Mar 96 p4

[Article by Rory Watson and Ivo Ilie Gabara: "Italy Rejects 'Chaos' Jibes"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] More than a third of the way through its six-month EU presidency, the Italian

government is still struggling to shrug off criticism of its handling of Union business.

After the latest undiplomatic attacks on Rome's performance, critics were told this week not to pass judgement until the end of the presidency in June.

An Italian diplomat insisted: "There is always a certain folklore about some presidencies and I think it will be possible to summarise our achievements at the end of the presidency. There have been no allegations of agreements which could have been reached but were not."

Italian sources, rejecting charges that their government has unaccountably slowed down the pace of EU business, retort that the change in tempo is mainly due to the sharp reduction in European Commission initiatives which require government approval.

Criticism has been largely directed at the mercurial performances of Italy's Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli and at the lack of leadership from the presidency as the country's political parties struggle for supremacy before next month's general election.

"Agnelli's handling of some issues has not been the most sure and very long, exhausting multilateral debates are definitely straining her. But she handles bilateral meetings well. She has her own style. Some like it and some don't," said one Brussels diplomat.

Last week, the Italian presidency came under attack for its handling of a foreign affairs meeting described by one source as "rather chaotic". More embarrassing were the salvos launched by Consumer Affairs Commissioner and former Italian radical MP, Emma Bonino.

She accused the Italian government of plunging the Union presidency into "an incredibly difficult crisis" and castigated it for throwing away the first two months of its turn at the EU helm. She even warned that the turmoil of the early election might curtail any effective presidency to just two months.

Relations between the Italian presidency and the Commission have also been strained by the government's failure to invite the institution to last month's Rome summit on the future of Bosnia.

"Asking the Commission to foot the bill in Bosnia, while not even inviting us to the summit, is a very arrogant attitude that will not win allies for the Italians," confirmed one Commission source.

In their defence, Italian diplomats stress that they are concentrating their efforts on a handful of areas of pivotal importance to the future of the Union.

"We are devoting a lot of attention and energy to proper preparation of the informal finance ministers meeting in Verona, where we hope to have clear ideas on the relationship between the ins and outs of a single currency. We are also concentrating on the Intergovernmental Conference [IGC] and if we have a report on that for the Florence European summit in June, that will be a good result," insisted one Italian diplomat.

The beleaguered Italian government received support this week from various EU diplomats.

One defender explained: "This is traditionally a quiet time of year. Nor, after the Spanish presidency, are there that many issues on the table. Although there may not be much political input at senior official level, a lot is being done in capitals and so one tends not to see it. Italian behind-the-scenes handling of monetary union issues appears fine to us."

Another commented: "There are three main issues at the moment - the IGC, monetary union and unemployment and it would be very difficult for any presidency to show a decisive result on these in just six months. I suspect these six months will be like last year's French presidency where there was a slow period and a certain lumpiness, but decisions got taken in the end."

An area where EU officials are also seeking progress is in the conclusion of the three remaining Euro-Mediterranean agreements with Egypt, Jordan and the Lebanon before the end of June. None has been dealt with by the presidency, even though they are crucially important for Italy's own national interests.

The criticism focuses not just on the EU presidency itself, but also on the Italian government's representation of its own interests in the Union.

Diplomats maintain it has been systematically under-represented at foreign minister meetings by failing to appoint a European affairs minister, unlike most of its Union partners.

With Agnelli chairing ministerial meetings, the Italian delegation is headed either by its ambassador or an undersecretary of state and is consequently weakened, say critics.

EU: Van Miert Concerned EU Heading for Open Crisis

BR0803153696 Brussels KNACK in Dutch
6-12 Mar 96 pp 32-34

[Interview with European Commissioner Karel Van Miert, by Paul Goossens, place and date not given: "And the European Union Waits"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Things are going badly in the EU. European Commissioner Karel Van Miert now even regards an open crisis as very probable.

Van Miert is undoubtedly one of the busiest EU commissioners. Being responsible for competition policy, in any case he does not get a chance to get his breath back even for a moment. Time and time again governments try to pump money into loss-making airlines, banks, and nearly bankrupt ship builders, and he has to intervene. In economic terms things are not going so well in the EU and this is threatening to cause irreparable damage to the European project. The European Commission is aware of the danger, but is no longer succeeding in setting the agenda, as it did under former President Jacques Delors.

[Van Miert] We now have a different EU than under Delors. In the past most governments wanted to help integration advance, now they are trying above all to block it. Delors would also have had huge problems with that kind of attitude. When he became president, most member states wanted to put European integration into service. As an inventive and dynamic man he then succeeded in taking the initiative into his own hands. Today — reality is what it is — a majority of the member states are mainly saying which things cannot be touched. Sometimes it seems as if everything is completely blocked. As a result the Commission is in a delicate position. It has to take account of the time frame, otherwise there is danger of it becoming a voice crying in the wilderness. We want to get a dynamic going and see who is available to play the game as well. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is among them, and the French president. Although the situation is very difficult in France, Jacques Chirac has evolved. The advocates of Europe have far less room for maneuver than before.

[Goossens] Did not the European Commission intervene far more actively before? Now it seems more like a worn-out board of directors.

[Van Miert] I think that is exaggerated. But we must go back on the offensive and once again formulate the EU's objectives and what is at stake more clearly. Public opinion hears a lot of talk about tomatoes, textiles, and public services and has lost the overview.

It no longer understands what the EU is actually necessary for. After all it is about far more than just enlargement and the renewal of the institutions. The EU must take its fate back into its own hands. That is not the case today. Everyone is just playing around with things. Every country has its own national plan against unemployment, but the EU does not have the instruments and controls to present the lines of action itself.

[Goossens] So the EU is floating like a rudderless raft on the waves of the economic cycle?

[Van Miert] That is how it is. Delors wanted to remedy that with his white paper, but he did not succeed because the governments did not want to go along. Now that most countries want to save money, the EU could offer some comfort. Delors had a concrete idea, which was nevertheless rejected by the finance ministers — with the exception of Philippe Maystadt (PSC [Social Christian Party]). Now the Commission is proposing to transfer the amounts which are saved on agriculture to the infrastructure. And once again the finance ministers are blocking that.

[Goossens] With the risk of Europe sinking away into deflation.

[Van Miert] Precisely. While the EU should be reacting, it is looking on. Really Europe, as Delors realized, needs a kind of economic and social government. It is a serious shortcoming in the Maastricht Treaty and I hope that the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) will correct this mistake. People like Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene (CVP [Christian People's Party]) are in favor of the idea, but elsewhere enthusiasm is lacking. Among my own political friends as well I often see reluctance to accept the consequences of a real European employment policy. Some people apparently prefer to pass the buck to one another and blame Brussels for all the sins of Israel. However, Europe can only act if it has the necessary instruments, responsibilities, and power. Otherwise we will continue to turn round in circles. We have seldom been faced with a more difficult situation than today. Regardless of the traditional problems around the institutions, enlargement, and the budget, we have a reluctant public opinion, and less and less politicians are willing to stick their necks out for Europe. In the meantime the Americans are playing with the dollar, we are footing the bill, and they are explaining to us why a single currency is not feasible in Europe.

[Goossens] And in Bosnia they are walking off with the credit.

[Van Miert] We should blame ourselves for that. We must not criticize the Americans for that. Rather we

should be grateful to them that they are willing to take on greater responsibility there.

[Goossens] Rather a lot of people think the currency union is more important than the IGC. Is there not a big chance that the necessary treaty changes will have to give way to the realization of the currency union?

[Van Miert] Yes, but that is not the end of the matter, that is not how things are. There are a whole series of candidate members knocking on the door and some of them are becoming impatient. For security reasons among others they want to join the EU as quickly as possible. We must take that seriously, because we do not know how the situation will look in the year 2,000. Many governments also believe that the enlargement of the EU is inevitable. However, there is the question of who should we speak to first. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, and also Malta and Cyprus, whom we have promised membership? Probably we will then also have to include Slovenia and Slovakia, with less it probably will not do. Then the Scandinavians think we should not leave the Baltic countries waiting any longer. If we have not adapted our own structures in the meantime, and continue with the unanimity principle, then we will simply paralyze the EU. Or worse still, we will unravel it.

[Goossens] What can the Commission do?

[Van Miert] It must stimulate a new discussion and initiatives in order to carry out a joint fight against unemployment. For that purpose we must look for new resources and the finance ministers will perhaps have to be cornered. Otherwise it will once again be to no avail. In the short term that is the greatest challenge and it will help determine whether we make progress in other fields. At the same time work must be done on the currency union, otherwise the single market will be in danger.

[Goossens] Is it not absurd to stick so stubbornly to the convergence criteria in this economic situation?

[Van Miert] When the Maastricht norms were established, it was not thought that the economy could turn around. However, it would be ill-advised to reopen the debate on the criteria. The discussion would get out of hand. We must try to guide the circumstances, so that the evolution to the currency union causes less pain. Furthermore the Commission must insist that the structures and decision-making procedures be changed radically. If there is only enlargement, then the EU will disintegrate. We must also warn the candidate members and member states that enlargement will be a very delicate operation. If these countries are exposed too quickly to our competition then they will get into difficulties. Just

look at the former East Germany. So many years after unification, and despite the enormous financial injections, whole sectors are in danger of being swept away. And therefore a long transitional phase is necessary. It is time for us to talk with one another about that very realistically.

[Goossens] Is employment a preliminary for you taking priority over all the other issues?

[Van Miert] Preliminary is perhaps too strong, because you cannot postpone the negotiations on the treaty and enlargement. However, if the social and economic climate does not brighten up, then there is a danger that a burden will be placed on many things. The IGC should integrate more social elements, otherwise we will become irretrievably stuck.

[Goossens] Because public opinion has been put off since the Maastricht Treaty and the convergence standards?

[Van Miert] Not so much because of the Maastricht Treaty, but because of the results of the single market. We are having to tighten our belts because the budgets got out of hand in the 1980's. Belgium does not have to make cuts because the Maastricht Treaty orders that, but because we cannot perpetually pile up debts. We cannot waste all our time and effort again. However, I understand that public opinion blames the Maastricht Treaty. Hence the need for the EU to try to soften the pain. I do not know whether it will work, but we must at least try.

[Goossens] How big are chances that the finance ministers will go along this time. Even Delors did not succeed with that at the time.

[Van Miert] At the time there were signs of a recovery and the conviction won ground that the problems would solve themselves. That is always the reasoning: Wait and see and hope that the tide will turn itself. We must not make this mistake anymore. Unemployment is structural and in every crisis it reaches a higher level. People must now finally realize that policy needs to be changed.

The EU, the most powerful trade block in the world, owes it to its credibility. In the early 1980's we succeeded and we were able to create eight to nine million jobs. People have nothing to gain from us watching and waiting.

[Goossens] But that does require the release of new funds.

[Van Miert] Because of the cuts most countries are no longer managing to invest sufficiently in their infrastructure. The story that the private sector can

manage everything itself is of course nonsense. The EU could take over a part of the job from the national governments.

[Goossens] And borrow money if necessary....

[Van Miert] Why should that be impossible in the given circumstances? If we ensure that the floodgates are not left open again then we must be able to give a helping hand to the national governments in financing their investments. That is not a pointless discussion after all. I look at this excessive caution with increasing displeasure. It is not because a few things went wrong in the past that we now have to cultivate a kind of bunker mentality. All it takes is an additional one tenth of a percent of inflation and people are already shouting that a catastrophe is on the way. Let us not exaggerate and not be guilty of fetishism.

In any event the single market is structurally unbalanced. A currency which loses 40 percent of its value in two years causes massive problems among the others. The social dumping practices are equally disruptive. If this is not halted then in the end the single market will be broken.

[Goossens] All European problems seem to be connected to one another. Is that still manageable?

[Van Miert] It is partly for this reason that this is the biggest challenge we have ever been confronted with. There have been other crisis situations, but never before were there so many issues on the table at the same time. Another specific factor is that there is less political will to tackle the problems, and those who do want to deal with them have less room for maneuver. The moment of truth is rapidly approaching.

[Goossens] Is the EU heading for a crisis?

[Van Miert] It can no longer be excluded. I hope I am mistaken, but when I see the tendencies, I fear the worst.

[Goossens] Is a crisis now more likely than a normally negotiated compromise?

[Van Miert] I have the inclination to indeed believe that. In the past you could put off the difficulties to the future, but even that is no longer possible. After all you cannot postpone enlargement and the currency union. This time there is no way out. If everyone realizes that, then perhaps we will recover.

[Goossens] And there is a smaller Europe at the end of the journey?

[Van Miert] If it comes down to an open crisis, those who are prepared to go further must accept their responsibilities. In any case it strikes me that the truly

motivated ones are gradually getting very angry. In Belgium, Germany, in part in France as well, in the meantime people have had enough of a few blocking the entire project.

[Goossens] So will there be two Europes, leagues one and two?

[Van Miert] (sighs) Yes, that could be possible. After all it is not new that some countries want to go further than others. If we had listened to the British at one time, then there would not have been a Europe today. They were firmly opposed to the six-member Europe and now they are trying to make everyone who wishes to go further feel guilty. However, someone has to play this motor function. Sometimes it is the Franco-German axis, then the Commission. Without a motor we will end up in stagnation and decline.

[Goossens] But recently the Franco-German axis has regularly stopped working.

[Van Miert] However, it is getting under way again. Bonn and Paris realize they need each other, otherwise the EU is good as condemned. A small country can perhaps regret that, but it simply is reality. However, we must be careful that the big countries continue to respect the EU's community rules and dismantle the intergovernmental working methods, like Schengen. After all they do not work. Only then can people talk about a Europe with a hard core, when it is clear that it remains community-based. In France too, especially among the Gaullists, you hear people say that the big countries should take the lead and should not be over-concerned about the institutions. That is a dangerous illusion. As if a Europe with weaker institutions can become stronger. Of course that is nonsense and also not acceptable for the smaller countries.

Equally absurd is the idea of leading Europe through a kind of security council. Franco-German cooperation is certainly necessary and everyone knows that these countries have to play a crucial role. However, they must accept that the small countries are fully featured in the community institutions. Until recently the relations between the large and small countries were not a point for discussion. Today they are and that also illustrates how great the confusion is.

[Goossens] Is your pessimism really justified? After all Europe cannot break down. It answers such an obvious economic necessity that it has to continue to exist.

[Van Miert] It would be ill-advised to believe that Europe can no longer break down. That is an incorrect assessment of reality. Once things start to slide, then they usually go fairly quickly. Hence the need to go forward. Of course we should not compare our situation

with that in the former Yugoslavia, but we should be conscious that Europe still has a lot of historic conflict material. It could catch fire immediately. Therefore we need strong structures, so that we can talk to one another instead of fighting one another and getting into a vicious circle once again. The existing explosive material is underestimated and usually it is also forgotten that the fuse has not been removed as well. Control is lost more quickly than people think.

[Goossens] Is this not a line of argument which appeals to the older generations above all?

[Van Miert] I think that you can always get this message across. After World War I people thought that there would never be another war. It was a mistake. In Sarajevo people lived with one another for centuries and then suddenly hell broke out. Going off the rails can never be entirely excluded, therefore we have to take maximum precautions. So the EU appears to me to be the best possible peace policy for Europe. In fact that is why it was set up.

EU: Ministers Condemn Turkish Plan To Rearm Bosnia

*LD1103103396 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network
in Spanish 0700 GMT 11 Mar 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Bosnia was among the subjects discussed at the informal meeting of EU foreign ministers in Palermo. The 15 [EU member states] are worried about the delay of the aid promised for reconstruction, to which Europe will bring a third of the 600,000 million pesetas planned. Next month, a conference of donor countries is scheduled to be held in Brussels. By then, the Italian [EU] presidency will have to have asked the non-EU capitals to fulfill their commitments. We return to Palermo; Nacho Hernandez, our special correspondent, is there.

[Nacho Hernandez] The EU has summoned the donor countries so that they can fix the amounts they are prepared to grant for the reconstruction of [former] Yugoslavia. The 15 believe it is now impossible to wait any longer; on the contrary, peace in Bosnia may be jeopardized. There was a call on the United States, Japan, and the Arab countries to share this burden of some 650,000 million pesetas equally. The EU is prepared to release the third which is its due — money with which the Dayton accords can be implemented, the Croat-Muslim federation can be set in motion, and relations between the parties can be improved through trade agreements.

The third aspect concerns the situation of troops under NATO command. The foreign ministers of the member

states believe the moment has already come to set a permanent timetable. The possible withdrawal must be gradual. The United States has 20,000 soldiers compared with Europe's 30,000.

At the conference there was a diplomatic rejection of Turkey, which is to start rearming Bosnia. For Acting Foreign Minister Carlos Westendorp this is not the time to speak of rearmament but of reconstruction:

[Begin Westendorp recording] The EU will make its proposal, and the others will have to associate themselves with this proposal. If they do not associate themselves, well, it will be clear who is cooperating and who is not cooperating in the peace process. [end recording]

UK: Government Pressured on Single Constituency Election

LD0803185696 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1809 GMT 8 Mar 96

[By Deric Henderson]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Government was under new pressure tonight to go for a single constituency election in the run-up to all-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland.

The Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party and John Hume's nationalist SDLP met near Belfast today and formally agreed that this is the method which should be used before full round table negotiations begin on June 10.

It would involve a province-wide poll where people voted for parties instead of candidates in each of the 18 Westminster constituencies, and mean that some representatives from the smaller loyalist fringe parties would stand a better chance of being elected to a new forum.

The non-sectarian Alliance Party and David Trimble's Ulster Unionists are opposed to the so-called closed list system.

Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew, who is to announce a decision after the consultative process ends next Wednesday, was told today a majority of the parties backed this type of poll - which is used for European elections in Northern Ireland.

Sir Patrick, who met Irish foreign minister Dick Spring at Stormont today, later disclosed that individual discussion papers are to be sent to all parties, except Sinn Fein, outlining structures for the remaining talks at Stormont.

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, who is leaving for New York and Washington next Tuesday, confirmed his party's opposition to an elective process before all-party talks, but the DUP and SDLP confirmed their agreement on how the poll should be conducted.

Newry and Armagh MP Seamus Mallon, SDLP deputy leader, said: "I think there is a growing consensus that the closed list system is the most adequate for the type of election we are going to have."

Mr Paisley said: "The majority of parties we have talked too are all on this wavelength."

UK: Minister Ancram Interviewed on Proximity Talks

LD1103111396 London BBC Television Network
in English 0830 GMT 10 Mar 96

[Interview with Northern Ireland Minister Michael Ancram by correspondent David Frost; Ancram in Devizes, Frost in London; from the "Breakfast with Frost" program — live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Frost] [passage omitted] I imagine, with those strong words from John Bruton — I asked the IRA to do more than just stop the violence, etc. — those words are encouraging to you in terms of the Irish Government and the British Government being as one?

[Ancram] Very encouraging. And it shows again that the two governments are working very closely together. We have made it clear that we have set out a democratic process by which we can get to all-party negotiations, and hopefully those negotiations to a settlement. But in order to be part of that democratic process then you have to sign up, if you like, for the principles of democracy, and that I understand was what John Bruton was very firmly underlining last night.

[Frost] Is there any news whether that small bomb in London was in fact an IRA message?

[Ancram] I have no news on that at all, but I think it is worth making it clear that no amount of bombs is ever going to bomb the IRA or Sinn Fein's way to the negotiating table. It can only bomb their way away from that table.

The way in which you get through into the democratic process is by signing up for democratic principles. And the first thing they have to do is to make sure, unequivocally, that the cease-fire of 1994 is restored.

[Frost] Although that is a condition for joining the talks, I presume in these upcoming elections that because Sinn Fein stood before — candidates before — they could stand again in the elections, although they might not be let in on 10 June.

[Ancram] They can stand in the elections, but in the joint communique between the two prime ministers on 28 February it was made clear that they cannot participate in the negotiations without an unequivocal restoration of the cease-fire. And that remains the case, as it does that ministers either from the British Government or the Irish Government will not talk to Sinn Fein until that has happened.

[Frost] And now [Alliance Party leader] John Alderdice said yesterday that he found the progress in the past

week — encouraging was one of the words he used. How would you sum up, at this half-way stage?

[Ancram] Well, we have had an enormous number of meetings in which we have discussed those elements which are going to be essential if we can put this democratic process together, which through elections will lead to all-party negotiations on 10 June. What we have now done, as a result of those discussions, is to analyse some of the differences that do exist and which are going to have to be resolved, if necessary, by the government at the end. We have put discussion papers, which set out certain options to the parties. We will resume dialogue with those parties again tomorrow, right through until Wednesday, and we hope, with goodwill and flexibility, we can reach an agreed position. But obviously if we cannot, if there are still differences, and fundamental differences, then the government will have to make a judgment as to the right way of moving forward.

[Frost] And if there is not total unanimity, which seems highly possible — the lack of it I mean — by the end of Wednesday, how long will the government take to make a decision? How long will it be before you announce your verdict?

[Ancram] It will have to be very quick, because we are working to a very tight timetable. We want to see all-party negotiations beginning, as we have made clear, on 10 June; that means that an election has to take place before that, and all the mechanisms for an election have to be put in place. So, we will be working to a very tight timetable. But even if the parties cannot agree, what I hope is that, when we do put forward our judgment as to the right way forward, the parties will accept the voice of the people of Northern Ireland, which is calling upon all their political representatives to get into talks, to get into negotiations and that they will show the flexibility which will allow this process to be taken forward.

[Frost] And so, whatever happens on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, will the talks definitely end then, or could they be extended?

[Ancram] No. This part of the process, which is intensive discussions on those elements essentially in the first place, those elements that are going to be needed to be part of any legislation, will end on Wednesday. And we have to make judgments on the outcome of those talks at that stage, or very shortly thereafter. But of course dialogue will continue, because we have all the questions as to the agenda that the negotiations themselves will undertake once they get started. So, there will be a process of talking, through the months ahead, even before we get around the table.

[Frost] And the knottiest problem would appear to be the question of whether it is a single constituency, or 18 constituencies, rather than the question of a referendum. Is that correct?

[Ancram] Well, the question of a referendum is one which we want to hear the views of the parties on. If there was a referendum, it would be at the same time as an election, and we want to actually make a judgment as to what the merit or demerit of that particular proposal is. And we have heard a lot of representations made which we will want to consider.

You are right, there are two distinct views as to the form of the election, and if we cannot get agreement by Wednesday, the British Government will have to look at all the information which has been given to us. We have got to look at the whole context of how to take this process forward successfully, and we will have to make our judgment. But we have not made our judgment yet on that.

[Frost] And as you look at Gerry Adams currently, we seem on the one hand ... [pauses] Do you see him as the most important intermediary with the IRA, or as still a part of the IRA?

[Ancram] Well, I think John Major the other day in Parliament said one is a member of the other, and I think that summed it up. What we want to see is Sinn Féin becoming part of this democratic process which will lead through to all-party negotiations and to a settlement. But if they wish to continue to exclude themselves, as they have since the cease-fire ended, and in terms their reactions to the horrifying bombings that took place in London, then we cannot bring them in. They have to bring themselves in, and they can only bring themselves in by adopting democratic principles on the same basis as every other party in that process.

[Frost] Would you describe yourself as optimistic, this morning, or what?

[Ancram] I have always been cautiously optimistic in this process, and I have seen set-backs, and I have seen us moving forward quite fast on occasions. What is important is that the people of Northern Ireland themselves want peace. They want to see that peace underlined by a political settlement. They want to see their political representatives talking to arrive at that settlement. That is what gives me encouragement, because at the end of the day it is the power of the people's voice which I hope will persuade all those who need to come to the table to come.

[Frost] And are you expecting, in the short term, a definitive response from the IRA. I mean, I guess that

the interim statements have been pretty pessimistic, but are you expecting a formal response?

[Ancram] That has to be for them. What we have made clear is that we have set out a path forward, and it is a democratic path, from which they and Sinn and Fein are excluding themselves at the moment. If they want to become part of that democratic path, then they have to unequivocally restore the cease-fire, and sign up for the democratic principles which are part and parcel of democratic life.

UK: Sinn Fein Pressured To Demand IRA Cease-Fire

*LD1003125196 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1119 GMT 10 Mar 96*

[By Gavin Cordon, Political Correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sinn Fein was today facing renewed pressure from London, Dublin and Washington to go back to the IRA to demand a fresh ceasefire.

Northern Ireland minister Michael Ancram said there could be no place for republicans at the all-party talks, due to start on June 10, until the violence had ended.

"In order to be part of that democratic process you have to sign up for the principles of democracy," he told BBC1's Breakfast with Frost programme.

"No amount of bombs is ever going to bomb the IRA or Sinn Fein's way to the negotiating table. They can only bomb their way away from that table.

"The first thing that they have to do is make sure unequivocally that the ceasefire of 1994 is restored."

His demand followed a strong attack yesterday on the IRA by Irish Prime Minister John Bruton who urged the republican movement to "stop thinking in terms of threats".

And in a further sign of Sinn Fein's growing isolation, the US administration confirmed Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble would be attending next week's St. Patrick's Day celebrations at the White House while Gerry Adams, also in America, had not been invited.

Mr Bruton, addressing more than 2,000 delegates at his party's Ard Fheis (national conference) in Dublin, said: "I ask the IRA to do more than just stop the violence.

"I ask the entire republican movement to stop thinking in terms of threats and start thinking in terms of peaceful persuasion."

He said he had "fought for" and secured June 10 as the fixed date for all-party talks, and he wanted to see Sinn Fein in its place at the negotiating table.

But he warned: "There can be no effective talks, no effective negotiations, unless everybody is willing to negotiate by the same rules.

"There cannot be a situation where peaceful parties feel under threat from others, who insist on their right to approve or support violence, if things at the negotiating table do not go their way."

Mr Trimble, who meets Mr Bruton tomorrow in Dublin, said he was "absolutely delighted" by the Irish Prime Minister's comments. He now wanted to discuss where the talks process was heading in the long term.

"We want to see relations normalised. We want to see a proper healthy relationship between the United Kingdom as a whole — and Northern Ireland in particular — and the Irish republic."

"Now that involves significant change on the Irish side," he told Sky TV's Sunday programme.

Mr Trimble is also due to meet Ulster Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew tomorrow at Stormont, as the current round of talks between the governments and the parties continues.

Mr Ancram said that they had still to reach an agreement on what form the elections, which will precede the all-party talks, would take.

"We hope that, with goodwill and flexibility, we can reach an agreed position but obviously if we can't, and there are still differences, then the Government will have to make a judgment as to the right way of moving forward."

Ireland: Bruton, Robinson Criticize IRA Threats

LD0903173796 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1701 GMT 9 Mar 96

[Embargoed by PRESS ASSOCIATION until 2000 GMT 9 March]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Irish Prime Minister John Bruton tonight launched a strong attack on the IRA and urged the Republican movement to "stop thinking in terms of threats."

He warned Sinn Fein that it could take its place only at a talks table "from which threats have been banished."

And Irish President Mary Robinson pledged that people power would overcome terrorist bombers in the fight for peace.

The commitment of ordinary people to look for peace should not be underestimated, she insisted.

Mr. Bruton, addressing more than 2,000 delegates at his party's Ard Fheis (national conference) in Dublin, said: "I ask the IRA to do more than just stop the violence."

"I ask the entire Republican movement to stop thinking in terms of threats and start thinking in terms of peaceful persuasion."

In a speech strongly critical of the Republican movement, Mr. Bruton said that throughout the 17-month ceasefire "a great part" of the IRA had continued to think in militaristic terms.

He said he had "fought for" and secured June 10 as the fixed date for all-party talks, and he wanted to talk with Sinn Fein and to see the party take its place at the negotiating table, he stressed.

But he warned: "There can be no effective talks, no effective negotiations, unless everybody is willing to negotiate by the same rules. There cannot be a situation where peaceful parties feel under threat from others, who insist on their right to approve or support violence, if things at the negotiating table do not go their way."

Opportunities had been lost during the IRA ceasefire, said Mr. Bruton. Unionists had failed to talk directly to Sinn Fein and the IRA had "continued to train volunteers, continued to target people."

"They should have used the ceasefire to retrain all their volunteers for politics. They should, of their own accord, have turned their swords into ploughshares. The Republican movement did not do so. That failure to follow the logic of the peace process was fundamental to the breakdown in the ceasefire."

Mrs. Robinson, on a visit to the Irish community in Leeds, said: "I was devastated when the bomb went

off at Canary Wharf and the end of the cessation of violence, as were the overwhelming majority of people in Ireland."

But she added: "I welcome a sense of resilience that was evident immediately in people."

"There is a determination to continue with the process that had flowered during the ceasefire. That process was one of linking and friendship in Ireland."

The president said that "linking" had taken place between Catholics and Protestants and between Northern Ireland and the republic. It was shown in marches and demonstrations for peace, in letters from children and in links in the business community and voluntary organizations.

She added: "Part of that linking is to affirm that we go forward in peace as a kind of people power."

"It won't diminish the very strong commitment of people to go forward in peace. There is a sense that people in Northern Ireland have moved on and made links of friendship and they are not going to let go of that."

"That is a good base for those in political power to negotiate."

Two Sinn Fein councillors today claimed Labour had not done enough to force the Government to push the Irish peace process forward.

And they criticised moves by the party to drop its long opposition to the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Dodie McGuinness and Francie Malloy, addressing a fringe meeting of the Scottish Labour party conference in Edinburgh, placed most blame on the Government for the end of the ceasefire.

But Labour could have worked harder to push the Government. The present situation meant that, if elected at the next general election, Labour would inherit the current problems.

— Ulster Unionist party leader David Trimble will be a guest of President Clinton at the St. Patrick's Day celebrations at the White House next weekend. Mr. Trimble and his deputy John Taylor will have talks with the Clinton administration earlier in their visit to Washington, which starts on Wednesday

Ireland: Bruton Address on Ulster Peace Process

LD0903221696 Dublin RTE Radio One Network
in English 2000 GMT 9 Mar 96

[Address by Irish Prime Minister John Bruton at the Fine Gail party conference in Dublin — live]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] I want to talk to you now about the two communities that live on this island together, particularly within Northern Ireland. Fine Gail's aim in government is to help these two traditions on the island of Ireland to build a community together, that is founded on reconciliation and [word indistinct] by consent. My first concern at this critical moment is the security of everybody living in this state. That is why I fought for and obtained a fixed date for all-party talks. An unconditional date for all-party talks, so that we can deal with all our problems through politics and not through violence. [applause]

I insisted from the very beginning of the peace process on maintaining the independence of the democratic decisionmaking of this democratically elected government in our state. I was willing to accept the inevitable criticisms that flowed from that. My priority is the independence of this state's democratic institutions. No secret organization will ever write the agenda of this government. [applause]

That independence of our state's government is the bedrock that we all have achieved in 75 years of statehood.

Let me explain why I am so happy that we have fixed on 10 June as the date for all-party talks. There are genuine grievances felt by the Republican community which Sinn Fein quite fairly and justly articulates. Yes, I do want to talk to Sinn Fein. Yes, I do want to see Sinn Fein take their place at the negotiating table, but [interrupted by applause] but, fellow delegates, that must be a negotiating table from which threats have been banished once and for all. [applause]

There can be, there can be, fellow delegates, no effective talks, no effective negotiation unless everybody is willing to negotiate by the same rules. There cannot be a situation where peaceful parties feel under threat from others who insist on their right to go back to violence or go back to supporting violence if they do not get their way at the negotiating table. My aim in these all-party negotiations, which will start on 10 June, is ambitious. It is to reach a genuinely balanced settlement. A settlement that institutionalizes the nationalist identity of 600,000 people who live in Northern Ireland, without threatening the British identity of 1 million of their Unionist neighbors. [applause]

We are aiming, fellow delegates, in this negotiation — we are aiming in this negotiation at something that has never been achieved before in the history of this island: A political system to which both of our national communities can give equal loyalty and allegiance. [applause]

In these negotiations we must openly confront, as we do in other walks of life, the injustices of the past. Not to replenish the already full fund of grievance, but so that wounds may be healed, and we may go together to a better future. MORE

Opportunities were lost during the cease-fire. Nothing would have been sacrificed if Unionists — by Unionists if they had been willing to talk to Sinn Fein during those 18 months. Indeed, Unionists would have gained a moral advantage from doing so. But that was not the only opportunity that was lost. Throughout the cease-fire the IRA continued to train volunteers, continued to target people, continued to single out people for assassination, continued to tolerate punishment beatings and banishments, and continued to develop new weapons. This activity, right through the cease-fire, is just a symptom of a more underlying and deep-seated problem. And that problem was the failure to understand, on the part of the Republican movement, that a serious engagement in a peace process means that you must change your strategy, not just your tactics. That did not happen in the Republican movement [applause] over the last 18 months. [applause]

Throughout the cease-fire, a great part of the Republican movement continued to think in militaristic terms. They should have used the cease-fire to retrain their volunteers for politics. They should, of their own accord, of their own accord, have turned their swords into plowshares, so to speak. But the Republican movement did not do so. That failure, to change, to think through the need for change in their own movement during those 18 months, was the fundamental cause of the breakdown in the cease-fire. Deep down, the psychology of conciliation did not replace the psychology of confrontation. Any political movement that gives up violence has to go through a painful process of change. And that is why I now ask the IRA — not just to stop the violence, not just to restore the cease-fire — I ask the entire Republican movement to stop thinking in terms of threats, and start thinking in terms of peaceful persuasion. [long applause]

The Republican movement must come to understand that violence of its very nature, of its very nature, is partitionous. Twenty-five years of violence has partitioned both physically and psychologically the townlands and the villages in the cities of Northern Ireland

more deeply than they have ever been partitioned in 300 years of history. That is what IRA violence has done. It has deepened partition. It is no tribute, fellow delegates, it is no tribute I say to the Republican movement, it is no tribute to the Republican dead to continue with a policy that simply cannot work. Their sacrifice was real. They faced the ultimate human reality: Death. It is no homage to them now to refuse to face the ultimate political reality. Success is not guaranteed by democratic politics. But failure is guaranteed by violence. [applause]

I emphasize again the word persuasion. Unionists and Nationalists must be persuaded to agree. They must be persuaded to make compromises, and these compromises they must make with one another. Ulster's Unionists have lived in Ireland for 12 generations. They cannot and will not be moved by violence any more, any more than the northern Nationalists can be forced to give up their birthright by violence. [applause]

All that violence does is make a political settlement more difficult. The two communities must agree together in Northern Ireland. They need help and leadership from the two governments. The two governments must be ready and willing to act as guarantors for whatever they agree. But the two communities must in the final analysis compromise with one another. [long applause]

Fellow delegates, let me now say something about our own economy. I do not believe that government regulations or grants solve economic problems. I believe that it is people making brave decisions, taking risks with their own money and working hard that create jobs and make an economy work. As I have said earlier, this government's aim is to keep the price of money, the rate of interest low, so that these risk-takers can make investments and get a good return. Keep the rate of interest low, that is our policy. [passage omitted]

Ireland: Bruton Interviewed on Peace Process

LD1003163796 Dublin RTE Radio One Network
in English 1305 GMT 10 Mar 96

[Interview with Irish Prime Minister John Bruton by Oonagh Cloughie on 10 March, place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [Cloughie] Taoiseach [Prime Minister], I would now like to turn to the whole question of the North. Because, of course, you are about to meet David Trimble and other members of the Ulster Unionist Party with the Tanaiste [Dick Spring] and the Minister of Social Welfare. What are your hopes for that meeting?

[Bruton] Well, this is the first meeting actually between the Ulster Unionist Party and the Irish Government as a whole, so to speak. Although they did have meetings with individual ministers as party leaders, since I think before the Anglo-Irish agreement, sorry, rather since the talks in 1992.

It's very important for that reason. Because what we are hoping for is ultimately a reconciliation between the Unionists who consider themselves to be British, who live in Ireland, and Irish nationalists who live in Ireland too. There has never been that reconciliation between those two sets of our people in the last 300 years. And obviously if there is to be permanent peace there has to be that reconciliation based on consent. You only achieve that by talking. I think it is a historic event tomorrow night. There will be that meeting between the Unionist delegation and the entire Irish government team.

[Cloughie] One thing that is likely to be put to you by David Trimble is the suggestion that during the cease-fire the Republic was used by the IRA to regroup, to train its members, and indeed to launch actions against Britain as was the case in London with the IRA member Eddie O'Brien who came from Gory. Does that concern you.

[Bruton] Yes. It does. Now, the gardi [words indistinct] are doing everything they can to — even during the cease-fire — to stop this sort of thing happening. But any suggestion that our territory could be used for terrorist actions of any kind, anywhere in the world, is entirely unacceptable, and entirely inconsistent with the democratic integrity of this state. I made it very clear last night that my priority above all is security of this state and its democratic integrity. And that is threatened by any organization using our territory for any purpose of that kind. And — but again, that's a concern that we have for our own sake. We don't need anybody — we don't need David Trimble to tell us to be concerned about that. We are concerned about it anyway. We don't want it to happen.

[Cloughie] But Taoiseach, with due respect, there hasn't been a huge amount of evidence of that. Because what we did see immediately after the cease-fire was a certain number of arms seizures. But we have seen very little since then.

[Bruton] But these arms are very expertly hidden. Now I am aware that there are substantial amounts of arms, because we have information about shipments that were brought in from Libya and elsewhere in the 1980s, and the amount of arms seizures that we have had since then don't come near to what we believe is the total amount of the shipments that entered the country. But these are

very expertly hidden, I have to say. And while it has been possible to find some of them over time, we have not found them all. That is the case, that was the case with the previous government too. But I can say that we will use every means we can to find them, and our security forces will continue to do everything possible to find those arms and put them out of harms way. There is no place for illegal arms, or the use illegally of arms in this state, from this state or on behalf of the Irish people.

[Cloughie] Taoiseach, it was a very successful Ard Fheis [conference] for you, a very, very confident mood here, but at the same time there are those in your parliamentary party and indeed in the rank and file of the party who say that Fine Gael is losing its identity, it is compromising too much with too small left-wing parties, and also that you are not fully open to the members of your parliamentary party, that you have surrounded yourself with a coterie of supporters. How do you reply to those charges?

[Bruton] Well, I don't think they are true. Really [chuckles] I believe that Fine Gael is one of three parties in the government. Therefore naturally and rightly all three parties have an input. But as the biggest party in the government we have the biggest responsibility to promote harmony within the government. In other words we have a bigger responsibility than the other two, to go out of our way to ensure that they — the other two parties — feel ownership in multi-government.

[Cloughie] Doesn't that put you under a threat to some extent?

[Bruton] There is nothing in life that is without price. There is nothing that is worth achieving [? that you don't have to make some sacrifice]. Yes, because I think we have got one of the most stable governments the country has ever had as a result of this approach. If we were taking the belligerent approach and trying to claim everything good was done by Fine Gael and that the other parties didn't make the big contribution that they are making, that would — maybe we could get away with it for a few months, we might even get away with it for a year or two — but it would ultimately not be the way this would help us to be successful in the next election and in subsequent governments. So, I think this approach is a good and a sensible one. Obviously, there are only 24 hours in every day, or probably 15 working hours in every day, and therefore one is not as accessible in government as one would be in opposition. But I think the job is being done well.

[Cloughie] But you are not concerned then about the fact that although your own popularity has, relatively speaking, soared in the opinion polls, the popularity of your party certainly hasn't, and that you are facing a real problem in terms of that at the next election if it doesn't improve.

[Bruton] Well, I think that, probably [changes tack] opinion polls taken when there isn't actually a decision in people's minds are not really very good indications of what's going to happen in an election. [passage omitted on opinion polls]

Germany: Kinkel Interviewed on EU's Upcoming IGC

AU0703162496 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 7 Mar 96 p 10

[Interview with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel by Josef Joffe; place and date not given: "The Final Decision Remains With the Governments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Joffe] "Maastricht II," the "all-round renewal" of the EU's worn decisionmaking mechanisms, will open in late March in Turin. The Germans, in particular, have said that the national veto must be eliminated and majority decision must be introduced. Mr Foreign Minister, are you really prepared to submit yourselves to your EU partners?

[Kinkel] When you want to have majority decisions more often, which is what we do, then we must also be ready to accept them — even as the biggest country in the EU. We want majority decisions, especially also in the common foreign and security policy [CFSP]....

[Joffe] ...really in "CFSP"?

[Kinkel] ... well, it will not be possible to have majority decisions on defense issues.

[Joffe] Is that not a contradiction?

[Kinkel] Majority decisions in foreign policy, yes, but not in defense policy.

[Joffe] A subtle difference.

[Kinkel] We cannot have majority decisions on central questions of defense policy....

[Joffe] Where for example?

[Kinkel] For example regarding the use of armed forces. Yet, on normal questions there must, of course, be majority decisions.

[Joffe] What are "normal" questions?

[Kinkel] Foreign policy questions such as the recognition of third countries.

[Joffe] And if the EU resolves to impose an embargo against our good trading partner, Iran?

"A Euro-Foreign Minister Is Out of the Question"

[Kinkel] Following a proposal of the Commission, a trade embargo is currently being resolved with a qualified majority based on a unanimous policy decision. Yet, in the future we want the underlying resolution also to be made by a majority. You cannot have it both ways: the principle of majority and then not to submit to such decisions.

[Joffe] What are some clear cases for making national sovereignty reservations?

[Kinkel] For example when it comes to sending troops to another country.

[Joffe] Back to Turin: What is it exactly that we want? The only clear word could be heard from London: certainly not more power to the European Parliament.

[Kinkel] Our opinion on this issue is the exact opposite. We are in favor of increasing the rights of the European Parliament. We are quarreling in the EU about how the Parliament should be integrated into the Intergovernmental Conference [IGC]. Our proposal is to include two observers from the European Parliament; a few partners are still against it.

[Joffe] These would hardly give Parliament in Strasbourg any proper powers.

[Kinkel] That is true, but it would be an important step forward. Yet, many countries even regard that as much too much.

[Joffe] If the European Parliament were to be given real powers, then Germany could, consequently, also be overruled.

[Kinkel] If one criticizes the democracy deficit, one cannot hide behind the argument of the possibility of being overruled.

[Joffe] What if Strasbourg decided to impose a trade embargo against Iran and China because of human rights — two important trading partners for us. Would we then simply accept that?

[Kinkel] We are not quite as far yet. The powers of the European Parliament will not go as far as that even after the conclusion of the IGC.

[Joffe] CFSP will require the individual countries to cede large parts of their sovereignty. Let us assume we already had a CFSP secretary general: would he have avoided the lack of agreement within the EU in the first three years of the Balkan war?

[Kinkel] We now want a capacity for analysis and planning, and a chief for that unit who helps coordinate foreign policy better than so far. Had we had such a coordinator before, a few things would have taken a different course. On the other hand, as far as I am concerned a kind of European foreign minister is out of the question.

[Joffe] Why?

[Kinkel] Because the final decision must remain with the Council, that is to say the governments.

[Joffe] We have had Bildt and Owen. They were unable to achieve anything in the Balkans war because they could not rely on common will and the necessary authority behind them.

[Kinkel] The tasks of Owen and Bildt were quite different. They were not conceived as coordinators for EU foreign relations.

[Joffe] Still, eventually such a figure did appear, and he was called Holbrooke, who could rely on the concentrated force of the United States, and achieved what Europe could not.

[Kinkel] The Americans committed themselves the very moment the work of the Contact Group reached a level where the U.S. commitment, together with the Europeans, led to success. Of course, Dayton would not have been achieved without the Americans. After all, America is a world power, a country that can act alone.

[Joffe] ... that is exactly the point.

[Kinkel] Yes, but without Europe it would not have worked out, either. We also expect America to fulfill its role as world power. We are not jealously looking at that, but we want it to be like that.

[Joffe] What about the leadership power of Germany, the "gentle hegemonic power." Do we want to lead, can we lead?

[Kinkel] I do not like the term "hegemonic power," not even a "gentle" one. What is true is that we are the biggest and economically strongest country in the EU. Due to these facts we do play a certain leading role. Yet, European politics is built on consensus.

[Joffe] Well, but consensus is not leadership.

[Kinkel] ... and leadership is often impossible without consensus. Due to the normative power of facts, Germany has a leading role in Germany. Still, I regard the term leading power as inappropriate. We need an integrated, coordinated policy. And we must show consideration for the small and medium-sized countries.

[Joffe] Considerations are part of leadership, but cannot replace it. Plus, the bigger the EU, the less leadership it will have if one has to satisfy the smallest common denominator.

[Kinkel] True. Yet, the small and medium-sized countries must be included. After all, that is the secret and the strength of the European power.

[Joffe] The secret of power is that it always leads and shoulders the greatest burden. Leadership has never been created through a committee.

[Kinkel] The point is cooperation between all European countries, and here the larger countries are bearing special responsibility.

[Joffe] "Variable geometry" also in foreign policy — small coalitions of those who are able and willing?

[Kinkel] I would rather speak of flexible integration, as France and Germany have agreed that we must not always be guided by the slowest passenger on the train.

"No Majority Decisions on Central Issues"

[Joffe] There is one problem with Germany's leading role: those polls that show that Germans would prefer to live like people in Switzerland or Sweden, that is to say, not wanting to have to do anything with the world. If that were true, would we not have to eliminate your job?

[Kinkel] First of all, my impression of the attitude of the Germans is different. One certainly cannot speak of self-complacent passiveness. We were assigned to an important role after unification; we returned to the heart of Europe. We will not be able to shun responsibility. We cannot sit down in the auditorium or pursue an isolated foreign policy. That has never done Germany any good. Integration is of utmost importance.

[Joffe] Are our interests always identical with those of our neighbors?

[Kinkel] No, like any other country we also have our own national interests. Any foreign policy is oriented by interests.

[Joffe] Then one cannot always pursue only a multilateral policy?

[Kinkel] No, there must also be possibilities where one sees nationally determined questions differently with other partners.

[Joffe] For example?

[Kinkel] It is no secret that we are of a different opinion as far as the policy toward Iran is concerned. We want to pursue a policy guided by dialogue. Dialogue can achieve more than silence.

[Joffe] Do we also have separate interests vis-a-vis the east?

[Kinkel] Here the interests of the EU and Germany are identical. Of course we have our German past, which very strongly suggests we cultivate the relationship and partnership with Russia that has cost us a lot to achieve.

[Joffe] The Russians are against NATO expansion, but we do not want to concede them a veto right. How do you want to solve that contradiction?

[Kinkel] First of all, we must clearly tell the East and Central Europeans who are seeking NATO and EU membership: For you EU integration is of vital importance. As far as NATO is concerned, we have adopted a basic resolution on expansion. Yet, these countries do not have to fear any attack. That means that we are under no pressure for time.

[Joffe] But we are under the pressure of time from those who keep knocking on the door more and more vehemently.

[Kinkel] True. We will not revise our decision to expand NATO. Yet nobody will benefit from creating new trouble. Together with peaceful expansion we must include Russia in the security architecture by freeing it from its fear of isolation.

[Joffe] That way we will have given Moscow a veto about the pace and, moreover, encouraged it to ask a higher price for expansion. Will that not put off the decision to a day in the very distant future, and to a special role for Russia?

[Kinkel] We have not conceded a veto to anyone, and never will.

[Joffe] Not even so far as the pace is concerned?

[Kinkel] No, but it is a question of common sense not to press ahead with expansion in a way that brings back the old confrontation. Moreover, we are facing presidential elections in Russia and in America. That is not a good moment for forcing expansion. If we forced expansion in our confrontation with Russia, we would strengthen the extremist forces there. Let me repeat: We are not giving up our decision on principle, and there is no veto. Parallel to expansion, Russia must be integrated into the security architecture. That can be done.

[Joffe] By paying the Russians such a high compensatory price to make them put up with expansion?

[Kinkel] I would not accept that in such a way, either. We must pursue a policy with the Russians that is based on a long-term perspective. After all, Russia has the feeling that the NATO border is to be shifted a few hundred kilometers further east, even though it feels quite unjustifiably threatened. We must free them of their fear of isolation. That is in our very own interest.

[Joffe] It is also in our very own interest not to remain NATO's eastern-most front and see a stability vacuum emerge on the other side of the Oder River.

[Kinkel] True. There must not be any gray areas in Europe's security architecture.

Germany: Kinkel Rejects French NATO Plans

AU1103120996 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG
in German 10 Mar 96 p 5

[Report signed "MJ": "Kinkel Opposed to France's NATO Plans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn — Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel (Free Democratic Party) has rejected French ideas to set up military structures independent of NATO in the form of a European general staff.

Earlier this week, France had called for a general staff that should be independent of NATO. By this, France primarily wants to replace NATO's integrated command structure under U.S. leadership with a European general staff that would depend on the Western European defense union and would only cooperate with NATO bilaterally. French Defense Minister Villon had claimed recently that the Federal Government was "not opposed to this position."

Commenting on this, Kinkel made clear to WELT AM SONNTAG that "the establishment of dual structures is not intended. There has been no thoughts of setting up separate headquarters of the Western European Union [WEU] or a European general staff."

He said the goal of German foreign policy was "the strengthening of the European pillar" to allow "the alliance to react more flexibly and strengthen NATO as a whole." That is why "everything must be avoided that would lead to splitting up the existing integrated structures," Kinkel said, commenting on the French notions.

Kinkel warned that "a WEU, integrated into the European Union in the long term," could be a "rival organization for NATO." There was agreement within NATO that the security system of the alliance "should not be touched in its essence."

However, Germany wanted to "make the existing military structures of NATO fit for the future so that they can also be utilized under WEU leadership." There could in the future be "crisis situations that may require military missions in which the two North American NATO partners do not want to be involved. This is in line with the European countries' wish to make Europe more capable of acting in security policy terms."

Regarding French plans to change its armed forces into a purely professional army focused at crisis reaction, Kinkel does not believe that the security notions between France and Germany will be drifting apart. Even though there were different traditions, Kinkel said, "the French armed forces have always followed in the tradition of taking part in international peace missions and in

the tradition of implementing military assistance operations, such as in Africa." The French Government had stressed, however, that "France with its armed forces will continue to contribute essentially to the Atlantic Alliance's defense capability."

Kinkel said this was also demonstrated by the fact that France was coming closer to the alliance structures, which was, for instance, illustrated by the French defense minister's participation in the NATO defense ministers' meetings.

Portugal: Sampaio Delivers Inaugural Address

LD0903130896 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television
in Portuguese 1000 GMT 9 Mar 96

[Speech by Portuguese President Jorge Sampaio at a swearing-in ceremony in Lisbon — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mr. President of the Republic [as heard]; Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic; Mr. outgoing President of the Republic; Mr. Prime Minister; Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and Constitutional Tribunal; members of the government; Deputies; Your Excellencies, heads of state and other representatives of friendly countries; Your Eminence the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon; Esteemed Guests; Ladies and Gentlemen: At the end of 20 years of democracy and after a decade of integration in Europe, Portugal has closed a cycle of its contemporary history. The democratic regime has been consolidated. Our joining the European Community has been proved the right step, affording the country conditions for development and structural change which would otherwise have been unattainable. [passage omitted]

The next few years will be decisive for Portugal's future. The country is facing the challenge of unfailingly bringing about a major modernization drive while avoiding political and social fractures that would undermine national cohesion.

The only national strategy possible is one of firmness in Portugal's participation in the European Union, of maintaining a sustained effort to modernize the productive sector, and unceasing attention to social policy.

I look to the future of Portugal with confidence. We are a country nearly 1,000 years old. We have a culture which managed to preserve its diversity and richness century after century; a language which the Portuguese disseminated to the seven corners of the world and is currently spoken by over 200 million people.

The richness of our history, culture, and language are due to our people's courage and determination to succeed, from which I will always derive my confidence in the future. [passage omitted]

I wish here to salute the Portuguese Armed Forces, the guarantor of national defense and security, whose institutional loyalty has proved decisive for the consolidation of the democratic regime which emerged from 25 April [1974 revolution]. [applause]

On becoming supreme commander of the armed forces by virtue of my office, I wish to reiterate my total commitment to the success of the peace mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of other peace missions elsewhere,

from the first of which the stability of Europe depends to a very large extent as the millennium draws to a close.

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic, ladies and gentlemen, the essence of Portugal's destiny is being played out in Europe. This is an undeniable part of our country's international positioning. It is incompatible with passive, defensive policies; rather it advises firm and consistent policies in a clear and determined assertion of our national interests. [passage omitted]

The challenges faced by the European Union [EU] at this turn of the century, such as the intensification of economic integration in a context of internal cohesiveness and the expansion of the EU's boundaries to include the new European democracies, are also challenges to Portugal.

Such challenges cannot be met hesitantly but rather by identifying priority goals in the establishment of national consensus and, necessarily, in the mapping out of a firm and determined Portuguese foreign policy.

A united and strong Europe will be open to the outside world and ready to ensure a context of regional stability. This prerequisite is relevant to the continuity of the transatlantic relationship, namely of the alliance between the United States and Europe.

NATO remains the cornerstone of our security, although present circumstances demand the effective development of its European pillar as an expression of the European allies' real capacity to shoulder increased responsibilities in the tasks of collective defense.

Relations with the Portuguese-speaking states naturally have a special place in our foreign policy. These relations represent a connecting link with our own history, a long history shared with the peoples of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea [Bissau], Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe, and, of course, with the people of East Timor. [applause]

The language, the rich diversity of cultures which find expression in that very same language, the shared history and effective solidarity among the peoples of the seven states, and of the territory of Timor, all come together to make necessary the realization of a commonwealth of Portuguese-speaking states and peoples, a project to which we have been devoting — and to which I will naturally devote — the greatest attention.

Unfortunately the East Timorese will not yet be able to participate in that project as a free people.

Portugal bears an undecidable historical responsibility toward East Timor and the Timorese community.

As the territory's administrative power, Portugal has a clear duty before the international community, the duty to ensure the completion of the decolonization process by holding a free, democratic, and UN-monitored consultation of the Timorese through which they may exercise their right to self-determination in a dignified manner. [applause].

To achieve this goal, the organs of sovereignty with responsibilities in this important issue must constantly seek the best ways and means of acting at any given moment as international circumstances evolve.

Portugal must continue to struggle for the cause of East Timor in all international forums, and must continue supporting the endeavors of the UN secretary general in the search for a just and internationally accepted solution to the East Timorese question with the participation of all interested parties.

Our national commitment in this issue is in keeping with a value that is an essential point of reference in the Portuguese state's conduct in the world, that is to say, the defense of the peoples' freedom and the defense of human rights.

The president of the republic has special responsibilities toward Macao. For my part I take the view that the strictest attunement with the government is necessary both with regard to the administration of the territory and to relations with the People's Republic of China.

Portugal's policy has the clear aim of ensuring the stability and prosperity of the territory of Macao and the defense of the rights and interests of its inhabitants, always mindful of the fact that Portugal bears an inalienable responsibility to defend the rights of all Portuguese citizens in Macao. [passage omitted]

It is from the strengthening of our identity that we derive the energy and confidence to set off on the adventure of the future, fearlessly, daringly, firm in the belief that in our part we always found greatness when we managed to set aside the petty issues that divide and diminish us. [applause]

We always achieve great deeds and assert ourselves as a people and a nation when we succeed in uniting and in concentrating on essentials, when we open ourselves up to modernity, to the values of freedom and universality, practicing a culture of tolerance and curiosity for that which is different, and our very own kind of affectivity and human warmth.

This is a lesson for times which more than ever are in need of such values. For this very reason it is also our own original contribution to the construction of a

Europe of solidarity and citizenship, to the building of a world of peace and freedom.

When I announced that I was standing for the high office into which I have just been sworn, I unequivocally stated that there is no such thing as a presidential majority; I will be the president of all Portuguese, all without exception. Long live Portugal! [applause]

Portugal: Sampaio on Relations With Spain
BR0803154896 Madrid EL MUNDO in Spanish
8 Mar 96 p 24

[Interview with Portuguese President Jorge Sampaio by Ruben Ramos in Lisbon; date not given: "Relations With Spain Will Be the Best"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lisbon — Jorge Fernando Branco de Sampaio will take office tomorrow as the new president of the Portuguese Republic, as decided by more than 3 million citizens on 14 January. Behind him lies a long, tough election campaign against Anibal Cavaco Silva. His objectives as Portugal's highest elected official are to turn Portugal into a "more Portuguese, more European, fairer, and more developed" country.

As destiny would have it his taking office has come about at the same time as the political change in Spain that saw off his fellow Socialists.

[Ramos] Have you congratulated Jose Maria Aznar?

[Sampaio] Yes. I have already done so.

[Ramos] What are you expecting from him?

[Sampaio] I met him about four years ago when he came to Lisbon and I was mayor of that city. We had an interesting and cordial conversation. I hope that relations will be normal.

[Ramos] Do you think that the Portuguese Socialists could learn something from the experience of their Spanish counterparts?

[Sampaio] I am not going to make any comments on what is happening in a neighboring and friendly country. I think that all government experiences in Europe are important to the process currently under way in Portugal. Every political leader must keep abreast of the problems facing his partners.

[Ramos] How do you think relations between Spain and Portugal will be in these five years?

[Sampaio] The best, that is obvious. I think that we are moving down this road, from the democratization that happened almost simultaneously in both countries and the subsequent parallel joining of the European

Community. For this reason I find it hard to believe that sporadic difficulties — such as the ideology issue — do not deserve the greatest joint effort so that they can be overcome. Indeed, they should be overcome in the short term.

[Ramos] And what do you think that Portugal's role should be within the EU?

[Sampaio] I do not see a European Union founded on the platform of putting an end to the national entities of its members, nor on the imposition of a "carbon copy" of what the model of a European citizen should be. Rather I see it as a gradual effort to draw closer together and to become enriched by a continent which, since it has historically been unable to exploit its diversity, was the theater for many of the bloodiest massacres in our history. It is up to Portugal to make its own efforts to assert its own particular identity in Europe.

I see a step-by-step Europe moving forward firmly, but capable of speeding up in particular with regard to social cohesion, social justice, and the status of the citizens, provided that these aspects are not left behind while priority is given to the economic and monetary aspects.

[Ramos] One of the main Portuguese diplomatic battles has focused on a former colony, East Timor, which since 1975 has been occupied by Indonesia. What is the best way of taking action on this issue?

[Sampaio] Diplomacy obviously. Confronting the Indonesian regime with its systematic violation of human rights in general, and in East Timor in particular. And also confronting the international community with the logical responsibilities of a debate on values that gives way to opportunism.

[Ramos] And where Portuguese policy is concerned, what are the main challenges facing Jorge Sampaio?

[Sampaio] Those who voted for me know who I am and what I think, but they also know that I want to be president of all the Portuguese people. I would like to play the role of the constitutional arbiter, but at the same time with a political approach that is very close to the citizens. I will be the guarantor of respect for the Constitution and I will try to raise awareness of the sovereign bodies — socially and culturally — within Portuguese society. I will seek to be the calm face of the country if any domestic difficulties create a climate of tension.

[Ramos] One of the tricks used by your main opponent Cavaco Silva was that your election would jeopardize the institutional balance, now that the Portuguese Government is also Socialist.

[Sampaio] The Constitution does not say whether the president and the prime minister have to be from the same party or different parties. Institutionally, there are no differences. It is enough that both governing bodies fulfill their role and do so faithfully and transparently. I have no reason not to be optimistic where this is concerned.

[Ramos] Apart from the Socialist Party, you also had the tacit support of other leftist political parties in the presidential election. How can you thank the non-Socialist Leftist voters for supporting your candidacy?

[Sampaio] In my speech to the country on the night of my victory I thanked everyone who was kind enough to vote for me. I reiterated my principle that there are no presidential majorities, since they disappear with the election itself. Only in that way can I be the president of all the Portuguese people. I think I was indeed heard. The greatest homage that I can pay to those who voted for me and who fought so much against injustice is to guarantee them that my position will be free of privileges and rewards.

[Ramos] With the election defeat of your rival — former Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva — an enormous crisis arose within the main Portuguese opposition party, the Social Democratic Party (PSD).

[Sampaio] I have hopes that the future PSD congress will mean that a new leadership can make it possible for the PSD to play a role in Portuguese politics. I am not saying that it is a good thing that the parties are going through this kind of experience, but the situation should be "dedramatized."

[Ramos] Lastly, what do you think Jorge Sampaio can contribute to the presidency?

[Sampaio] All men are different, apart from the stability of the institutions. As soon as they accomplish what has been set out for them, they all contribute their objectivity to the job. For better or for worse, what I bring to the presidency is Jorge Sampaio.

Cyprus: Kliridhis Views 'Omission' in Clinton Report

NC0803164196 Nicosia Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in Greek
1600 GMT 8 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Glavkos Kliridhis has said that U.S. Government explanations as to why President Clinton's bimonthly report on the Cyprus issue did not refer to the Turkish invasion and violation of human rights are unsatisfactory. He added: The government is making the relevant representations concerning this omission.

President Kliridhis also said that the United States is trying to find a Cyprus solution, efforts that are supported by the EU. He said: The U.S. initiative is expected in June and will aim to bridge the differences.

Cyprus: Mikhailidhis Comments on Clinton Cyprus Report

NC0803122296 Nicosia Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in Greek
1000 GMT 8 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In a statement, Foreign Minister Alekos Mikhailidhis said the government judges that there are both positive and negative elements in President Bill Clinton's bimonthly report on the Cyprus issue. He explained that the positive elements concern the references to the Denktas regime and the negative ones refer to the complete lack of reference to the Turkish invasion and the violation of human rights from 1974 until today. Mikhailidhis said the government will make its remarks directly to the U.S. Government and the U.S. State Department and stressed there will be no demarche with the U.S. Embassy in Cyprus.

In a letter accompanying his report on the Cyprus issue to the Congress, President Clinton said that the UN process for a Cyprus solution and the Cyprus' EU accession course influence each other. [passage omitted]

Cyprus: Rauf Denktas Interviewed

NC0703170696 Nicosia SIGMA Television Network in Greek 1900 GMT 1 Mar 96

[Interview with Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas by correspondent Stavros Sidheras in English; date not given; subtitled in Greek—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Sidheras] Mr. Denktas, thank you for accepting the invitation to appear to my show. Before we start I would like to put my cards on the table and say that I am not here as a journalist. I am not a journalist, as you know, I am not a historian, and I do not claim to know the Cyprus problem in depth. I

am here as Stavros Sidheras, a citizen of Cyprus. And I believe like most Cypriots, both Turkish and Greek, I am anxious and concerned about the future of the country.

Now, you are one of the key players in this political chess game, and as such, I know that you hold most of the answers to the questions concerning the future of Cyprus. I know that to get to these answers, to the real answers, I will have to go beyond the facade of the shrewd politician that the people claim that you are, and find the real Rauf Denktas.

So let me start by asking: Mr. Denktas, who are you? Who are you really?

[Denktas] First of all let me ask you: Are you interviewing me as a persona or as a persona non grata?

[Sidheras] I think that you are one of the very few people I know that have both qualities. I think for some people you are definitely a persona but for a lot of us you are a persona non grata.

[Denktas] So let us see if we can change that.

[Sidheras] O.K. So, who is really Mr. Denktas?

[Denktas] I was born in Paphos in 1924. My father was a judge and as such he had very good friends in his profession. He knew Greek perfectly. He could read and write in Greek. We had very good Greek friends, so we were not brought up in an atmosphere of "Greeks are different from Turks." The only thing that I used to listen to him and his friends say was that "Greeks get a little mad when they think about Enosis [union with Greece]."

[Sidheras] Even as early as then?

[Denktas] This was when I was seven years.

[Sidheras] Because I believe in those days Mr. Denktas the real enemy was poverty. It was not the Greeks, it was not the Turks, really it was hard times...

[Denktas] Whenever Enosis was mentioned, there was some disturbance. When I am 7 years old in 1930-31 and then there is the revolt against the British. And then all the church men, all the leaders of Enosis were sent away. And from 1931 to 1945, during the World War II, I refer to it as the Golden Age of intercommunal relations, because under the oppressive British rule there was nothing about Enosis and no movement for Enosis. Nothing at all. So there was no reason for Turks to feel fear, to feel dominated. And those were the golden years.

[Sidheras] Let me ask you something Mr. Denktas. I read somewhere that your father was a shepherd and

then he sort of climbed to finally be a judge. That he became a member of the British Empire. Is this true?

[Denktas] My father was a village boy, who came from Ayios Epifanios. At the age of 16 he was a tall man, a tall boy and he passed himself as 18 and entered the police force. And in the police force, continuously reading, educating himself. He learned Greek through the Mouchtar of Vravhia, to whom he referred as uncle, they were so close. And he studied English when he started taking correspondence lessons in law. Then he left the police force as a sergeant and entered the civil service here. And from civil service because he had studied law, he was appointed as a judge and went upwards.

This MBE [Member of the British Empire] is a very significant thing. He was regarded as a follower of the Kemalist reforms and he was followed up by British agents all through. Each year the British had to give MBE to a number of people here as an old colony. So when my father's turn came they thought of a very good trick of how to make him lose face vis-a-vis his people. The governor told him through the chief justice that: You have to wear a fez during the ceremony. My father was very disturbed of course, and said: I have not worn a fez since many years, I cannot wear one now. They told him: But this is the order of the governor. And then my father used his brain and said: Under what law are you ordering me to wear a fez? Is there a law about what to wear while getting the MBE? So that was it. He was asked: Do not come with anything on. And I still have his picture and the governor is looking away while giving him the MBE.

[Sidheras] Really?

[Denktas] Oh, yes. If the chief justices were not really honest, impartial people and had not protected him, he would have suffered a lot in the hands of the governor, then.

[Sidheras] You always, in your whole life, have been involved in the law. Your father obviously was a great stature in your life and I am sure that he passed along this love for justice in the law. And this kind of helped in your studies? Right? You studied law?

[Denktas] I would not have taken the law had he not died when I was finishing the English School. I did not intend to. I wanted to be a veterinary surgeon.

[Sidheras] I wish you had become Mr. Denktas.

[Denktas] Well you...

[Sidheras] Hopefully somebody else would have been in your position, somebody more...

[Denktas] But when he died, he always tried to instill in me the idea that this community needs courageous writers and courageous lawyers and we have not got them. I always thought that this man does not love me. Why? Because when I was a young boy the British used to put his friend, the editor of SEZ, in prison every now and then and I had to carry food to his family for 15 days, for 11 days from our house. They were very good friends. Because he used to write anti-British articles, the man was put into prison, was punished, had no money and so on. So I said why does he want me to become a writer when his closest friend is suffering so? Then of course I realized. His death made me say: I will take up law. It was as...

[Sidheras] As if you owed him. As a promise. Tell me about your early days of your studying Mr. Denktas. I believed there you had a lot of Greek friends.

[Denktas] I got a scholarship from the British Council. But to get it I had to serve as a school teacher at the English School for a year.

[Sidheras] What were you teaching?

[Denktas] In the first class, everything. Then I realized that Mr. Sims, the headmaster, had given me this job in order to make me love teaching and continue my scholarship as a teacher and not in law. I found teaching a very sacrificing, very difficult job. To teach those children you have to give something of yourself, all the way, all the time. And you must not be angry with them, you must be very patient with them, you must be in their context.

[Sidheras] The children you had in your class, were they both Greek and Turks?

[Denktas] In the first class there were Turks and separate Greeks. Turks and Armenians.

[Sidheras] So you were teaching...

[Denktas] First class. In England, contrary to what you think we did not have Greek friends in this sense because we were at the in-depth course and I had come to England during the war. At the end of the war in 1944, The war was still on, the flying bombs were on. And some people who had won scholarships rejected it. I said no, this is my only chance I will go. My brother wrote me from Turkey. If you do go under these conditions you are not my brother. I am not going to suffer agony for you because you will be killed. I said thank you brother but you cannot give me an education. I have no one to give me an education. I am going.

[Sidheras] So you had this tough, adamant character from the early days.

[Denktas] Yes, if you call it tough and adamant. What my father taught me most: There is no fear which can prevent you from doing what you intend to do. The only thing that you should fear is God.

[Sidheras] During that time, Mr. Kliridhis also, I believe, was in RAF. Did you cross during that time?

[Denktas] No, I met Kliridhis in 1949. I came back in 1947 and started practicing in Nicosia. Kliridhis came, I think, in 1949, or thereabouts. And he was in his father's office. We started meeting as opposite numbers in court cases. And he was very good.

[Sidheras] Tell me something before we refer to these court cases and Kliridhis. During this time, your upbringing, you had a very fair father—he was a judge—did you have any resentment toward the Greeks around this time?

[Denktas] No, no resentment. But as we lived very near here and around us were Greek boys and Armenians, it was a mixed sort of quarter. The majority was Turkish but it was a mixed quarter.

[Sidheras] The reason I am asking you is because during the EOKA [National Organization of Cypriot Fighters] struggle, you represented the Crown and during that time your critics say you were a very tough solicitor, adviser, or whatever you called yourself then. And some people go as far as holding you responsible for the death of some boys including Karaolis, one of the EOKA boys.

[Denktas] This is only one, really. Well, I am surprised at this because Mr. Khrisafinis, I think he is dead now, and others are on record in the CYPRUS MAIL then that I was a very fair prosecuting officer who does not press his cases—and I was like that—especially in murder cases. If I had the slightest chance of reducing it to manslaughter I did it. And Mr. Paskhalis was in the law office with us, a senior crown counselor, and he would fight every single inch of it in order to convict for murder and the judges used to get very angry with him. I hope he is well and around. He was a very good lawyer, a very good man also. But if he was given a case, he wanted to convict. I was the contrary. So I am surprised at this.

[Sidheras] This is what I want to ask. Obviously you are a Cypriot. You grew up with Cypriot boys and so on. I know that you were doing your job, although it is very hard for us to accept that this is how law works. You have a prosecuting officer, you have somebody to defend. But, subconsciously, when you were faced with situations that somebody, a young boy 17 or 19 years old, was going to be hanged, whether subconsciously

you felt that maybe you had to bend the law a bit to try and save that life.

[Denktas] Exactly. As I say EOKA cases were given for a limited time. Then the British prosecutors were brought. So in my instance the only case in which there was a death sentence was Karaolis' case.

[Sidheras] How did you personally feel about EOKA?

[Denktas] I felt very sorry for that young man. Very sorry indeed.

[Sidheras] No, I am not talking about Karaolis. How did you feel about the struggle of the Cypriot people, of the Greek Cypriot people, at that time since you decided as a community not to participate and to side with the British?

[Denktas] I will tell you this. Had this struggle been for independence, I am sure most of the Turkish Cypriots would be with the Greek Cypriot side. It was not for independence. It was for Enosis. And Enosis for us was changing colonial master for the worse. We would never have it. Our upbringing from the very earliest day it was—as it is for the Greek Cypriots—Cyprus is Greek. For us Cyprus is Turkish. This is how we have been brought up. And Turkey has gone from Cyprus temporarily and Turkey will come back. This is the background.

[Sidheras] But how can a place, Mr. Denktas, be Turkish when the majority of people, 82 percent of the population, is Greek. I mean doesn't this by its L, in numbers, portray the real character and ethnicity of the place?

[Denktas] Now if you look at Cyprus as an isolated island, yes. But if you look at it as an island destined to unite with Greece or with Turkey, then the majority is the Turkish side. And then the geopolitical reasons, the historical reasons, how British bought it from the Turks and so on, all these are part of our upbringing, part of our psychology. You cannot argue this on the basis of reason. This is a belief. As you believe, as your children are brought up to believe that Cyprus is Greek and must be part of Greece, we were brought up to believe that Cyprus is Turkish and shall be Turkish. And this was the reason of conflict in Cyprus. Therefore, the 1960 compromise for us was an honorable compromise, which we did not like, but we said this is an honorable compromise which has to be respected.

[Sidheras] But before we get to the 1960 compromise, as you put it, Mr. Denktas, you got into politics in 1956. So it's forty years now you are in the political arena.

[Denktas] You cut off 10 years, but it doesn't matter

[Sidheras] Really, you were before then?

[Denktas] Yes, yes.

[Sidheras] But I believe that you became active in 1956.

[Denktas] That is very accurate.

[Sidheras] And as history is going to show in the future, for forty years you had been active in the political arena. And let me ask you when did you decide—as a strategy—about taxim, about dividing Cyprus into two.

[Denktas] I didn't decide it. First of all let me tell you a story. In 1948, when I was just a lawyer and a representative in the Constitutional Commission, which was then [word indistinct], the Constitutional Commission was closed down because the rightists, the Church, attacked Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL], who was attending it. And AKEL walked out. And I made a name I suppose somehow. And someone from TO VIMA from Athens, a journalist, came and wanted to see me, to take a statement from me. And I said: I have no mandate for my future to talk anything sir. Doesn't matter. I want to talk to you ...

[Sidheras] Off the record.

[Denktas] No, man to man, as a Cypriot. And he came down to ask me what would you do if there was Enosis applied in Cyprus. I said: I don't believe that it will be. I don't want to answer this question. He said: But Mr. Denktas, why are you afraid? Suppose that there is Enosis, what will the Turkish Cypriots do? Well I said I can only talk for myself. My generation—I know my friends—we would take up the arms and we would be up in the hills fighting. And he laughed. But the next day this was in the press. I had very good friends in the Court, some of the young lawyers, Greeks, registrars, and assistant registrars who knew my father or worked with my father were helping me. They were very good friends. That day, after this article appeared and I went in, everybody turned his back to me. And the Turkish number two was there and told me don't expect any more nice smiling faces.

[Sidheras] So even your people, you are saying, were against your philosophy or your ideas.

[Denktas] Not my people. The Greek Cypriots working in the registry.

[Sidheras] Did you have the support of the majority of the Turkish people in stating that you were ready to go to the mountains and fight against Enosis?

[Denktas] I was giving the views of my closest friends who were all young people, 24 or 25 years old. First of all, ideally we regarded this land as a Turkish land. Every corner had a column from the 1571 and when

the Greek municipalities removed them there was a lot of anger within the community. So this was what we talked about. But the other thing which made us say no was colonization. We didn't want to be colonized. And I repeat had the Greek Cypriots been fighting for independence or for its own sake, we would fight together.

[Sidheras] You said something before and I let it go. You said that every corner in Cyprus resembled or reminded you of the Turkish period that we say was occupied by the Ottoman empire. Because every corner of Cyprus, thousands of years before, the Greeks were there. The Greeks are here. And we find archeological findings and all the signs show that it is a Greek island.

[Denktas] But you find archaeological findings in Turkey, you find archaeological findings everywhere in the world. You don't go by that. Here, you see, the approach was: Cyprus has two different peoples and it hasn't got a nation. There is no Cypriot nation. Makarios declared this several times. And he said we are Hellenes, we are Hellenes of Cyprus and we shall unite with mother Greece. That being the case, not seeing the other part as part of you as part of Cyprus but looking at it as a different minority and let the minority say I am part of Turkey here. If he is Greek, I am Turk. I think had Makarios or even the people before him had done this, accommodated us as part of Cyprus and treated us as such, I don't think we would have had any difficulty. I don't think so. I think that is exactly the reason which put us against the wall all the time.

[Sidheras] So there is resentment in you, Mr. Denktas, and perhaps there is resentment in every Turkish Cypriot.

[Denktas] Resentment, maybe. Resentment because you resent people who do not regard you as an equal. You resent people who look down upon you. But hatred, not hatred. You cannot live with hatred. I have seen, when I go to villages to talk, in the market for example, I have seen grabbing me by the lapel saying: Are you really going to allow Greeks to come to this village? If you do this, I kill you first and then the Greeks. There are feelings like that.

[Sidheras] They are fanatics.

[Denktas] They are fanatics. People who were hurt when they lost their loved ones, suffered as a result of it. We have this on both sides. And that is the danger of Cyprus in the future. If you cannot really find a reasonable solution which will prevent an eruption later. That is our difficulty. But hatred as such we do not find it. Resentment for not being treated as an equal, for not

being allowed to feel part of Cyprus, to be regarded as Mr. Vasilou said in Europe—the Turks are 400 year-old guests in Cyprus. He said that in Europe. If we are guests in Cyprus then we do not feel very happy. And I think education has a lot of blame to carry on the children. Educating young people that the other side is your enemy, for example. You do it more than we do. I was...

[Sidheras] No comment.

[Denktas] Mr. Loizou was working with me, he is a very good friend of mine. Unfortunately, he lost a son during the war. He had a very pretty daughter Loulla. And one day Loizou told me: Let us give Loulla a lift because my car is in the garage, we will pick up Loulla and take her home. She had just started in kindergarten. And we went to pick up this little girl and on the way — this is Eoka time [passage indistinct] — he asked the little girl: Loulla, who is our worst enemy? And Loulla said immediately: The Turks father.

Loizou said: But why we are killing the British, the British are killing us. What have the Turks done to us? She said: Our teachers told us that this fight with the British is a temporary one. The fight with the Turks is forever. They are our... And then Loizou turned to me and said: Rauf you know that if I had expected this answer, I would not have asked her.

[Sidheras] I won't back this by saying that obviously the same thing does happen and was happening in Turkish schools, but I want to leave it at that, at least you mentioned...

[Denktas] I have made a proposal, which has been left on the tables, that we should have a joint committee look at our books and to start cleansing them. All this poisonous literature, as far as we can. Not to deny history, but to remove poisonous parts.

[Sidheras] I think you will find that any logical person agrees with you Mr. Denktas. But I want to just leave this, at this point, because you did mention an important word, as far as I am concerned, the future. But before we talk about the future I will need to take a break.

[Sidheras] Mr. Denktas, before the break you mentioned that you have known Mr. Kliridhis since 1949. What can you tell me about him? What do you think of Mr. Kliridhis?

[Denktas] Well, he is an excellent lawyer, very good friend, when he wants to be friendly. But as he himself has declared recently, he seems to feel more like Iperidhis, the code name Grivas gave to him while doing his job, than Kliridhis the friend of all Cypriots.

[Sidheras] Do you not think that you are being a bit harsh on him?

[Denktas] No, that is what he said. He said he is the Kliridhis to whom Grivas has given the code of Iperidhis and as such he will continue the struggle of Hellenism in Cyprus in the trenches. These are the little things that made us sit up and say: Are we being too soft, are we melting, believing that there is a possibility for a solution? These are the things which hurt us.

[Sidheras] I want us to relax and go slowly slowly and gradually come to this: Because, as I said from the beginning what interests me really is not to get in a debate where I will not be able to convince you... Definitely a lot of other people have not convinced you, including four Greek Cypriot presidents. So I am not going to be the one to convince you that your policy is not justified and that you are wrong. Talk to me about your family. Talk to me how you got married, how you found your wife, your children.

[Denktas] Well, when my wife was born, I was nine years old, and she was the daughter of my uncle, of my father's brother's daughter. She was the granddaughter of my uncle.

[Sidheras] You got me confused. But never mind. Carry on.

[Denktas] We are second cousins. First cousins are not married. Second cousins. And when she was born she was given to my lap saying this is your fiancée.

[Sidheras] Really?

[Denktas] But naturally we all laughed at that.

[Sidheras] It was a joke.

[Denktas] But she grew up to be a very pretty girl and before I left for England to study, among the family we were sort of engaged. She was 14 or 15 and I was 23. And when I came back three years later we got engaged and another year or so in 1949 we got married. When I was appointed at the Attorney General's office, we got married and we spent our honeymoon in Troodos. Lodgings were given to Attorney General's staff, we had a lodging there. A friend of ours was coming. A single man judge Seka. We invited him for lunch and we did not know what to cook. She did not know how, what to cook. We tried to make some kebab in the oven. And I got four oaks of potatoes and two oaks of meat and it was a disaster. When Seka came it was nothing to look at. But that is how we started.

[Sidheras] I know you had five children and I know that...

[Denktas interrupting] Six.

[Sidheras] Six. And that you did go through a personal tragedy losing three of them. Do you want to share this with us? Do you want to tell us of it?

[Denktas] Yes, the first tragedy which we had was when my second son had continuously tonsillitis and I was saying to my friend doctor — never ever friend doctor — to my friend who wanted to operate upon him: Do not, because he is too weak.

[Sidheras] It was a Turkish doctor?

[Denktas] Turkish. I had to go to Turkey in order to have the people that the British Government had taken into custody as persons belonging to TMT. They were not releasing them, they were in a camp. I went to Turkey in order to ask the Turkish Government to use its influence and free these people. While I was there, apparently this doctor, the friend of mine, told my wife, and doctor Kucuk joined in the same, that Denktas is afraid of operations. Let us finish with it, so that when he comes, he finds the boy up and about. And he was operated upon, something went wrong and he died on the operating table. I was informed in Turkey...

[Sidheras] How old was the boy?

[Denktas] Seven. Seven years old.

[Sidheras] Seven years old. I read somewhere that one of the reasons this tragedy did happen, was because you refused the attention of a Greek Cypriot doctor.

[Denktas] No. No. This is very bad propaganda. There was no such thing. I mean, I was operated upon by Yiorgakis, is it?

[Sidheras] Yiorgakis.

[Denktas] The famous doctor you have, you had then. I do not know whether he still lives. He operated upon me, my tonsillitis, when I was...

[Sidheras] So you did not have any misconceptions.

[Denktas] No. My first son was born at Greek Papapetrou's clinic because we had no Turkish doctors. When we began having Turkish doctors and midwives and so on...

[Sidheras] How did you lose you the other children?

[Denktas] Then we had a daughter born to us and her doctor was Petridhis, Pieridhis sorry.

[Sidheras] Pieridhis, yes.

[Denktas] He was the only children's doctor then, and he was very good doctor. So by the time the girl was three months old we saw there was difficulty in keeping herself up and by six months it became evident that there was something wrong. We took her to Beirut, we took

her to Turkey, we took her to England and it was a tumor in the brain. And she was about two and a half years old, I took her to Great Almonington Hospital. Next day she was going to be operated upon and she died that night. And they rang up to say she is dead. And she is buried in England.

And the third one of course was Raif, my eldest son, who died in a car accident. So these were tragedies, which naturally crashed us, but again we had such a big responsibility vis-a-vis our people that were continuing in spite of that. And probably because of that I could think of nothing else except the Cyprus problem. So I understand the tragedies of people who have lost their sons, their loved ones on both sides. During the war. Especially Loizou, when he lost his son, I could not even say condolences to him. I did not have the heart to. But I grieved as much as, not as much as him, but very very seriously because all these deaths were unnecessary. They were unnecessary. Greek leadership should have known that there is a Turkish factor in Cyprus and it is impossible to achieve what they set out to achieve, this is A. And secondly that 1960 agreements had done no wrong to Cyprus. It was not what we wanted. You asked me when did I choose partition as a policy. Partition was chosen as a policy by Turkey. And we were grieved here because Turkey was abandoning half of Cyprus to the Greeks.

[Sidheras] This is how you felt.

[Denktas] This is how we felt.

[Sidheras] You mentioned before Mr. Denktas TMT. Did you have anything to do about the creation of this organization?

[Denktas] Yes. Before TMT there was Volkan. There was other little groups, completely undisciplined and you did not know what was happening within the community. Who was keeping who and why. Why all of a sudden there was a riot and Greek houses were burned, Greek shops were burned, when we should have kept quiet and shown to the British that here is what has been done to us. Do something yourselves. So I saw that the thing was not going well, in the right direction. It was going in the direction Greek Cypriots...

[Sidheras, interrupting] Are you saying that you felt it was in the hands of fanatics?

[Denktas] It was in the hands of, I would not call them fanatics, I would call them people who thought they were doing their duty in order to prevent Enosis, but they were not disciplined, they knew nothing about it. So I talked to a few people and they said: Let us make a declaration that now there is a very big organization afoot and that all these are canceled.

[Sidheras, interrupting] You stated before Mr. Denktas that you are very much against this violence. That you were sort of sorrowed by the fact that a lot of people got killed and it was not necessary and yet we find you in 1955-56 being responsible in creating an organization that was taking guns to support whatever idea but the outcome would have been the death of people on both sides.

[Denktas] Well, you see, had we not done that, had we not disciplined them, it would have been far worse and it would have been against us. It had been an undisciplined sort of attack on all fronts without any reason for it and the Greek Cypriots would have taken full advantage of it and crashed us and no one would have helped us. So, by disciplining this, we had no guns at the beginning. We had nine shotguns or pistols which went around Cyprus I was told from hand to hand. If a Turk was killed in Paphos for example, a gun would go from Limassol to Paphos to take revenge. This was what started it. When we put the brakes on TMT, it took us about nine or ten months even until we really disciplined it. After disciplining it, it was a lot better.

[Sidheras] So you are saying that this is the real reason why you personally got involved in creating TMT, was to control the violence?

[Denktas] Control the violence and give it a policy. But, not to do things which could be used against us. We were fighting against gunmen who wanted to convert Cyprus into a Greek island and you cannot think at that time politically what shall we do. Shall we do nothing? No, you have to do something and that something you have to do is to take precautions so that people are not hurt.

[Sidheras] If I wanted to ask you, Mr. Denktas, who started this violence, what would be your answer?

[Denktas] Well, I think it was obvious. EOKA started it, and the violence against Greece by Turkey started only ...

[Sidheras, interrupting] But this resentment existed long before EOKA started the struggle.

[Denktas] Even there you would see from the British archives, we have a little booklet, you would see if you read carefully that ...

[Sidheras, interrupting] The question remains of course whether we trust the British archives.

[Denktas] Well, you will see there complaints lodged by the Turks against what was happening and so on. We must accept it. Greek Cypriots and Greece had the idea of converting Cyprus into a Greek island and they felt justified. They said this is justice, this is the right. But,

we did not see the same. There is a conflict. There is a conflict. The 1960 agreements compromised on these two diverse views. The clever thing would have been to go ahead with this compromise, to honor it, not to destroy it. But, if you had seen the Akritas plan, you must realize that there was a complete plan on how to destroy us. And it was destroyed.

[Sidheras] Actually I don't want to come into this now because I want to turn to who is feeling insecure because all the time you throw at us: No, I want the Turkish support and I want the Turkish guarantees because this is the only way we can feel safe from the threat of the Greeks. Because we are a minority.

Again we are moving really fast and I want to take things easy. I want to go back to sort of a time that your personal tragedies sort of, I am sure, shakes you, it would really shake anybody. I know that you are highly religious and I know obviously that in this tragic moment you became even more. What do you think of God, Mr. Denktas? How do you see him? Do you see him as an old man with a long beard? What do you think?

[Denktas] Who told you that you are a golden mouth? [laughs] Because you are you know.

[Sidheras] They don't say I am a golden mouth, they say I talk too much.

[Denktas] Anyway, how do I think of God? I think God is everywhere. He is not an old man, he is in your conscience. He is your religion teaching you to be kind to people, to be truthful, not to steal, not to do things. As all religions inculcate, that is God talking to you. So if you accept his existence, that he is always watching you, as he is watching us I hope now, then you are afraid of doing something terribly wrong because he will punish you.

[Sidheras] So, you abide by your conscience and you follow what your instincts and conscience tell you?

[Denktas] Well, I think the test is this: When you go to bed at night, if you don't roll and roll until you sleep, if you shut your eyes and say I have done my work today and let us hope it will be better tomorrow, I have done no wrong to anyone knowingly, wantonly, so help me God and you sleep immediately, then I think you do things by your conscience. This is what I do. Otherwise, it is impossible to carry on ...

[Sidheras, interrupting] This is another contradiction. To be able to go to bed at night feeling that you have done your job properly and to differentiate your feelings, to separate these feelings from decisions made but could perhaps create another battlefield, that lives will be lost.

I find it hard to accept. Unless of course I am totally mistaken and other people make decisions and like myself I have to dance to the music that other people play.

[Denktas] No, that is wrong. That is very wrong. Whatever your relations or Mr. Kliridhis' relations are with Greece, where he goes and comes and they organize things together. Agreements are not acceptable under the 1960 treaty and so on. And those relations, on the other side, look as normal but our relations with our guarantor Turkey, our motherland always looked as: Oh look at them. So let us leave that aside. There is a problem which we want to settle. We have put forward federation, federation was seemingly accepted in 1977 by Makarios. We are in 1996 and we have not yet been able to come to a federation. You say because of the conditions I have put. But, I have made several appeals to Mr. Kliridhis. Come and let us talk. It doesn't matter whether we talk politics or whether we have coffee and we leave. As we used to do in the past and an atmosphere of trust was created. These people are talking so we shall have a settlement. But, he doesn't come.

[Sidheras] Mr. Denktas, what you are asking is not a federal solution. Please correct me if I am wrong. What you are asking is autonomy. You are asking to separate Cyprus in two parts. You are asking to have total control on your side. You are asking to have a say on the other side. And you are asking for the right in the future to completely dismantle this "federal" solution and go your own way. And this is going to happen. That is why the Greeks are so skeptical because it has been your ambition, it has been your dream since 1956 to separate Cyprus. That is why they don't trust you.

[Denktas] No, this is wrong again. When we say a Swiss-like sovereignty, we also ask you to look at the Switzerland and tell us whether Switzerland is six or eight or ten—whatever it is—different countries because cantons have their own sovereignty. And they have their full autonomy. And they take care of the central government also.

[Sidheras] We are getting into very deep waters obviously and I like it. But, let us take a break again. Ladies and gentlemen we will be back soon.

[Sidheras] Somebody told me that when you lose your composure and get angry, you are more vulnerable. What can I say to make you angry?

[Denktas] Tell me that Cyprus is Greek. [laughs]

[Sidheras] No, I will tell you something else. I will tell you that a lot of your critics say that besides the fact that they accept that you are a very clever man, a very

capable politician, they characterize you with words as you are very cynical, you are very arrogant, you are very mean, a hardline politician. Do you accept this?

[Denktas] No, I don't. I laugh at myself. I like laughing at myself. Sometimes caricaturing myself even.

[Sidheras] Actually, you know I have been saying that. Now that I have met you—the second time we meet—I kind of like you and I am wondering whether I am doing something wrong and whether the fact remains that maybe like me you are also a puppet, being handled and manipulated by the gods of power around the world and that maybe you share the pain in the agonies that I have and maybe you are not the tough politician that I believe that you are.

[Denktas] I haven't got the characteristics of a puppet. I am a very independent man. And I think I proved this all through my life.

[Sidheras] No, the reason I said that, the question really is: Are you the sole decision maker on the Cyprus issue, or do you take orders?

[Denktas] We don't take orders by Turkey. We have a joint problem with Turkey because Turkey has an interest in Cyprus. And this is why the 1960 agreement were made the way they were made. The guarantees are not nearly our guarantees, they also guarantee the right of Turkey in Cyprus. This is a joint venture, a joint problem, and there have been times when what we wanted to be done was not done because Turkey would not go along with it. And what we wanted to be done was more drastic, for example leave the talks, don't talk, close the doors and say to the Greeks when you make up your mind that we are a partner also, then let us talk. And Turkey would not allow that. It is not taking orders from Turkey; it is sitting and considering the things together and say well, you are right, we should not do this. So, in other words, we are en par with the Greek Cypriot side on its relations with Greece. Nothing less, nothing more. This should be understood. And here in Cyprus, within Cyprus, as I have told you, I am not the president in a presidential regime to decide and really plan. I have to go through the government which has to go through the parliament and then ...

[Sidheras, interrupting] As far as we are concerned we do not accept you anyway. So, let us not get into this. So, let us go back to the guarantees. You mentioned to me that ideally we would, that we should, continue with the guarantees of 1960. I am throwing the idea to you of enhancing these guarantees. What is wrong by including a few more powerful countries in this pact? Why not include America, or even better, why not include the NATO countries, of which pact Turkey is a member?

[Denktas] The Turkish army will leave the moment we have an agreement. And therefore the constant threat to what you call 'the minority—the Turkish Cypriot—the constant threat—your numerical superiority will continue to be. So we want workable effective guarantees and that is what the 1960 guarantees are all about.

[Sidheras] Do you not trust the Americans?

[Denktas] It is not a question of trust. Turkey had to consult with two guarantors before intervening and even then it took them more than a week to intervene in Cyprus. And if we have ten guarantors to consult before intervening, by that time we might be finished off.

[Sidheras] Look back all the time and try to sort of find the scars of the past and the mistakes of the past, on both sides, if you are a fair man. And not go even further back and find that, let's say in the case of the second world war, let's leave the first world war, we have countries such as Germany, England, and France, destroying each other completely. And now they are partners, they are hand in hand. So, if we are to learn from our mistakes, if we are to learn from the weaknesses of the past, why we cannot allow ourselves to be taught a few things. That if we stop this mutual trust, we could find ways like other people have done. Germans, and the English, and the French are not the only ones. We have the example, the most recent one of Vietnam. The Americans and the Vietnamese people had one of the bloodiest wars and yet two months ago, a year ago they found a way to be together and its a historical pact. But, all the struggles end up around the table. Why cannot find our solutions before we go to another bloody war?

[Denktas] In all the examples you have given, including France and Germany—which are very vital—what happened was one abandoned the idea of claiming territory from the other. They both recognized the power of equality, sovereignty, and they agreed to enter into an equal agreement.

[Sidheras] I think I just let myself do something I promised myself not to do. Which is to get in an arena with you and try and find political answers to tormenting questions. Let me just throw off your balance and get back to my strategy which is about your personal life. I want to get to the real Rauf Denktas, not the politician who finally I lost you there. Tell me about your hobbies. I know you have birds.

[Denktas] I have birds. I love them and I regret the times when I was following them with a shotgun and killing them, you know.

[Sidheras] You were a hunter?

[Denktas] I was a hunter.

[Sidheras] Not anymore?

[Denktas] No, no. For 10 to 12 years I hid my guns and I do not go. But in the Koran there is a short passage about birds: Watch the mosquito and think why it was created. The wonders that God can do. I watched the birds and I thank God for these beautiful things that He created for us to make life all the more pleasant for us. And what have we done? So many thousand guns on that side, so many thousand shotguns on this side. And we have no partridges anymore to sing around our forests. And we have no birds really which can come with joy into our gardens and sing. Everything is being destroyed. I think we should have a ban on shooting for 4 to 5 years and help to multiply these birds.

[Sidheras] We will enhance this not only by taking the guns from the hunters, take the guns away from the armies.

[Denktas] But that is what is going to be when we have a settlement. But to have a settlement we have to have rationality, we have to have the guarantees, we have to be recognized for what we are—a confounder partner. In all the examples you gave me, including the Palestinians, they recognized each other. Don't forget this.

[Sidheras] Okay, I will just let it at that because again I will find myself in the discussion. Let me just touch at something that I just felt coming out of you. When I mentioned the birds and you started talking about them, I found a kind of gentleness. Let us come to a very humane issue that has nothing to do with politics. It has nothing to do with armies. It has to do with people and human feelings. And these are the missing people, on both sides Mr. Denktas. I saw an interview where Mr. Kliridhis said yes, we both—maybe I am wrong. I am not quoting—I accept that we are both to blame. Let us open the graves and find out the identities of the dead, so that if there are still people alive, we can go back to their families and tell them: Your children are dead or your children are perhaps still alive.

[Denktas] What I said to the Greek side is this. We have Mrs. Katsellis' memoirs, we have Papastestos priest cemetery statement, we have other statements in the press to the effect that we saw during the coup people killed and buried. They say they used to bring them in lorries and without identification buried them at some point. I asked Mr. Kliridhis, I asked Kiprianou, I asked Vasilou, have you taken up these people to identify who they are? If you haven't, how can you say that 1600 people are missing if you don't know who was buried there, how can you complain to the world that 1600 people are missing from your side? Without clearing this thing, it is impossible. Everybody that comes out

from this side will be looked upon as: Ha, Turks have killed him. And this is the propaganda they intend to make. So if they are really interested in this I say first dig out the common graves done during the coup and tell the world, and tell your people these are it and these are the people and let us look at the list. It is a shame really, to play by saddening these families by pretending that there are people working in Turkey and they will not write here and they do not come here. Or they have married Turkish girls and they have forgotten Cyprus.

[Sidheras] This is actually the point I want to come to. I have a personal experience. I, like the rest of the people in 1974, as far as I am concerned I find myself in the position to have to fight for my life, fight for my family, fight for my country, fight for my dignity. On the 8th of August I was in Lapithos when Lapithos was taken. I was with 49 boys. I came back with 7. I was there when the rest of the boys surrendered. The names exist. I saw it with my own eyes. These boys were captured. So far as I am concerned there are two ways we can go: One that the Turkish invading army massacred these boys in cold blood. The other that they were taken to prison. What happened to them?

[Denktas] What happened is this: As the Turkish army moved and captured the Greek Cypriots, unfortunately they handed them over to our fighters. Among them were people whose families, villages were lost over the years and so massacres happened. It happened like this. Instead of taking them to the police stations or to the prison camps they were killed. As soon as the Turkish army realized what was happening, that is when the rest were transported to Turkey. And Red Cross is on record saying that everybody taken to Turkey has come back from Turkey. This is on record. Therefore all these allegations—five, ten people may be alive—I ask as a reasonable man: Is there any logical reason whatsoever to keep people in prison or even somewhere over these years? What for?

[Sidheras] I am asking you, Mr. Denktas.

[Denktas] There is no reason. I made a statement years back: Let us tell the families on both sides that these people are dead and that there are no missing people and immediately the next day the banner headlines were: Denktas confesses that he has killed every missing person. This is not the way. I was approaching it in a humanitarian way. When I came back from Turkey, after four and a half years of prohibition and we started talking with Kliridhis, the first thing I asked them was: What about the missing persons. We have 203 missing persons. Kliridhis told me frankly: They are all dead. Don't expect to find any of them alive. I came back to the families who were waiting for me and I told

them frankly: Don't expect any of these people to be alive. They are all dead. They shrieked, they fainted, they accused me of not being interested in their affairs but we passed the legislation, under the presumption of death, it was 10 years they reduced it to 5 and young women were able to marry, others were able to get the properties left to them, and so on. The agony was gone. But, when I suggested that you make the same thing. We say: No one knows on the Greek side, no one knows that not one single evidence has been produced to the committee of missing persons that missing persons so and so was last seen on place so and so. As you say, the only thing is I last saw them in area so and so while the war was going on.

[Sidheras] No, no. I saw them surrendering to the Turkish Army.

[Denktas] Very well. Well, I am telling you what happened thereafter.

[Sidheras] So, you are being frank in accepting that these massacres did happen.

[Denktas] By our people in revenge.

[Sidheras] Mr. Denktas we are running out of time. The message I am getting is do not expect as far as you are concerned—from the information that you have gathered—that all these boys that are missing, all these people that are missing they are all dead.

[Denktas] Unfortunately.

[Sidheras] On this very sad moment we need to take another break. We will be back shortly.

[Sidheras] Mr. Denktas, a few days ago we had a crisis in the Aegean and it made us all realize how close we are to another war. The question I sort of want to put forward is whether unavoidably this war if it happens, a confrontation between Turkey and Greece, will involve Cyprus, from your side.

[Denktas] From my point of view it is this: The only thing which would bring war in Cyprus is the extension of this defense doctrine and therefore defense line of Greece to Cyprus. It was the most stupid thing to do. Not realizing that Cyprus has a special position between the two motherlands and we should be kept out of their conflict even if it is every reason of the conflict between them, the way to settle is not to bring it within the war distance between the two motherlands. The clever thing to do was to keep away. Several times I asked the leadership on the other side, all of them: Let us make an agreement, that we will not fight each other in Cyprus. And let us make this agreement endorsed by Greece and Turkey. That is the clever thing to do. And it was

rejected offhandedly. Why? Denktas seeks recognition. I said: If I seek recognition I would say so. Are we not talking as two communities? We are. Are we not sitting as two leaders of the two communities? Yes. It is in this capacity that we should make an agreement. Non aggression agreement.

[Sidheras] I do not know the protocol, but I think that what you are saying is very important. Let me just get this straight. Are you saying that the first bullet will not be fired from your side? If a confrontation happens?

[Denktas] Of course not. Of course not. That is the status and that is the position of the Turkish army and that is its promise to us.

[Sidheras] But if a war starts in the Aegean and the extension of it finds itself in Cyprus. Who is to say who fired the first rifle?

[Denktas] You are absolutely right. That is why I say that the extension of this defense doctrine to Cyprus was wrong. Giving Greece bases—sea bases, air bases—in Cyprus is wrong. Because if Greece and Turkey enter war it is inevitable that Turkey will bomb these bases at least in order to protect itself.

[Sidheras] But Mr. Denktas Greece did not enter the 1974 war and we were bombed by your Phantom airplanes. So this is not an argument I accept.

[Denktas] You are bounding the cause of the war. This is another thing.

[Sidheras] If another confrontation happens between Greece and Turkey or even worse if Turkey for any reason decides that it wants to move forward and take the rest of Cyprus ...

[Denktas, interrupts] You know that there is no such policy...

[Sidheras] I don't.

[Denktas] We know it at least. There is no such policy. Turkey is not going to put us into danger. That is not why it is here. It has been begging for a solution in order to withdraw. It has not come about. So I say: Let us take the present position. What is the present position? In order to wait for such an eventuality as Cypriots on both sides. What is the way to it? The way to it is for the two sides to say as two leaders: We agree not to fire a shot toward each other. We agree to remove certain forces from the dangerous areas as anyone wants and we agree that in case of a Greek-Turkish war even, there shall be no fighting in Cyprus. And how will we secure this? By Greece and Turkey undersigning our agreement in Cyprus that there will be no war in Cyprus.

[Sidheras] This is so vulnerable, Mr. Denktas. How can anybody prove that if the fighting begins that either side is the one to blame? Even if you sign this?

[Denktas] If the overall responsibility is taken by the two leaders it is up to them to see that a small figure stops as a small figure.

[Sidheras] But how can we prosper together?

[Denktas] Our priority is to settle the Cyprus problem. On the table there exists sufficient elements or principles which can be molded into a settlement, like I repeat: The two parties are equal, they are not minority and majority. Cyprus is their homeland, it is not a Greek homeland, it is not a Turkish homeland, it is their joint homeland. It is these two who will settle the Cyprus problem without interference from outside. The guarantees shall continue and it shall be a bizonal settlement and the property disputes shall be settled by exchange of properties and by compensations so that daily friction is avoided. And these are sufficient material on which we can build the future.

[Sidheras] Will the people have a choice, the people whose origins are from Kyrenia, Morphou, or all these occupied areas, will they have a choice to return to their homes?

[Denktas] Not to their homes.

[Sidheras] Why not, Mr. Denktas?

[Denktas] They will come eventually. The first thing is to create the bizonality and make it a legal entity. Because now we have a de facto. But, you must make it a legal entity. You cannot have a federation while people on one side claim their properties on the other side.

[Sidheras] But they do not claim it Mr. Denktas. It is theirs.

[Denktas] Yes, but we have agreed on a bizonal federal settlement. And you forget that Turkish Cypriots for 11 years could not go to their properties in 103 places. Why? Well the Cypriot side ...

[Sidheras, interrupting] I am not saying this is right. Let us talk about this because this is very important. How can we have both? How can we have this federal state with a central government really in control and find a solution that will give the choice to the people, that if they want to come and live under the policy of Mr. Denktas, fine? But give them the choice.

[Denktas] In time it will be under the legislation of both sides that it will be possible for people to come and settle under the permission of the north and vice versa.

You have to start from where you are if you really want to come together again and we all want it. We have to start from where we are. We have to take certain steps one by one, not jump to things.

[Sidheras] My final perhaps question, because we are talking about the future now and I don't want to leave this place without taking some hope with me, Mr. Denktas. Do you think that we will have a solution by 1999?

[Denktas] If Europe tells the Greek Cypriot leadership clearly that they should not expect to be a member without settling the problem, yes.

[Sidheras] This is not what I want to hear, Mr. Denktas.

[Denktas] Yes, but this is the reality. I have to be very sincere with you.

[Sidheras] One more time we are running out of time. I believe we only have about a minute, a minute and a half left. I think I will just give it to you.

[Denktas] Well, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. I hope you will not be hurt by it. I must say this because sometimes people who write anything in my favor immediately are attacked. But I would have liked to have our views known. That is why I invited Mr. Kliridhis to send forty of his people and I will send him forty of my people so that we could talk these things with them. Because I realized that most Greek Cypriot youths do not know what happened pre-1963 and they think Turkey dropped from the skies in order to punish the Greeks or divide the country. The country was divided into 30 pieces until Turkey came. How we lived in those little areas. Most young people don't know. So, I think we should let each other know our feelings. We may correct them in time but talking is good.

[Sidheras] Okay Mr. Denktas, thank you very much.

[Denktas] Thank you very much.

Turkey: Yilmaz Presents Government Program

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[Announcement of the government program read by Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz at the Turkish Grand National Assembly - live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Honorable Speaker, esteemed Deputies: On behalf of the cabinet members and myself, I salute the lofty Assembly with the most profound respect. I wish the period ahead of us to be auspicious for our nation and our country.

On 3 February 1996, the honorable president tasked me with forming the new government. The negotiations we conducted with the True Path Party (DYP) resulted in an agreement, and I am here now to present the program of the 53d government of the Turkish Republic which has been endorsed by the honorable president. There may be various amendments to the written text that has been distributed to you. Once again, I consider it necessary to draw the attention of the lofty Assembly to the fact that text I will be reading here is the valid one.

Honorable Speaker, esteemed Deputies: The results of the general elections held on 24 December 1995 were announced by the High Election Council and have been finalized, thus forming the current structure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). The election results did not allow any political party to single-handedly form a government. Furthermore, for the first time in Turkey, the percentage of votes received by the first three parties ranged from 19 to 21 percent. This situation necessitated a government model that differs from the models implemented in our country to date. The preference expressed by our cherished people in the 24 December elections necessitated a government model calling for a more extensive conciliation, self-sacrifice, harmonious cooperation in all fields, and a rotational premiership. The DYP and the Motherland Party (ANAP) took note of this necessity and decided to establish a joint government, trusting the strength of the government program they have prepared to solve the domestic and foreign political, social, and economic problems facing our country while, at the same time, taking into consideration the statements made by various political parties about their responding with understanding and facilitating the formation of such a government. The support extended by these parties enabled us to reach a solution within the framework of the current arithmetic in our assembly and has strengthened our confidence in the democratic system. We thank them for the support they have extended to us.

As a matter of fact, soon after the elections, the administrations of both parties were subjected to an intense public demand to form a coalition together. Every possible effort will be exerted to ensure the continuity of this government, which reflects our people's preference, and to make sure that it succeeds.

Esteemed Deputies, we are aware that every new government that is established, especially after general elections, has the responsibility to assess the past. I find it more appropriate, however, from the viewpoint of the solution of our current problems in line with the interests of our country and our nation, to leave the evaluation of past implementations — be they positive or negative — to the lofty Assembly and to our cherished people. I find it imperative, however, to state in front of this lofty Assembly that we are determined to deal with every kind of irregularity that has already been disclosed or that will be revealed in the future and that we will be taking the necessary measures to ensure an open government.

It is evident that the nation is going through a difficult period. Therefore, we believe that everyone, especially the political parties represented in this Assembly, will assess the current conditions in the country with a sense of profound responsibility. We believe that approaching the problems with the traditional style and understanding of government versus opposition will render the solution of these problems more difficult. Our nation expects us to show tolerance, conciliation, cooperation, and solidarity. We as individuals, as well as this institution, will be strengthened and will rise in esteem by exhibiting such behavior.

Our country, with its historical and geographic advantages and its human potential, deserves to take its place in the front lines of the international race for development. As long as the right approach is adopted and sound policies and realistic solutions are generated, and as long as the obstacles blocking our citizens are overcome, there is no goal that our nation cannot attain. We are determined to safeguard the Turkish Republic established by our nation under the leadership of Great Ataturk in accordance with the fundamental principles of our Constitution and to attain the contemporary level of civilization. One of the major goals of our government is to be loyal to and to safeguard our national, spiritual, and historical values. The fundamental duty of the state is to educate the individual in the manner required by the current scientific era and to secure the atmosphere and conditions that will enable that individual to best exercise his capabilities.

Esteemed Deputies, only through a strong and real democracy can universally accepted principles such as

the sovereignty of the nation; the guarantee of fundamental rights; judicial equality; the supremacy of law; social, economic, and political plurality; and participation, tolerance, and conciliation exist. The primary step to be taken on the issue is to save our democracy from and defend it against deception, depletion, and moral weakness. The state structure that commands and dominates its citizens must be replaced by a state structure administered by its citizens. Importance will be given to civilian social organizations. Our government will introduce extensive constitutional and legal amendments to further instill and expand freedom of speech, belief, religion, conscience, and enterprise. All obstacles in the way of freedom of speech will be removed, provided it does not border on terror, oppression, force, and violence. Freedom of religion and conscience will be implemented at a level befitting developed countries. It is the right of every citizen, whatever his sect or character, to fully benefit from freedom of religion and conscience. All our citizens will be free, in the full sense of the word, to practice their beliefs and religion. Our government believes that the principle of secularism is the guarantee of freedom of belief and religion and one of the fundamental and irrevocable attributes of our state as stipulated in our Constitution. Therefore, the new government will not only raise the level of our political, social, and economic life to a sound one but will also undertake the duty of restructuring the state and social structure of the country.

Honorable Speaker, esteemed Deputies, incidents of violence and terror, especially the separatist terror in our southeastern region guided by outside forces, are most important issues that rank above parties and, as such, should be given priority. This problem is the most important obstacle to our democracy and our development. Our government will continue its determined fight, inside and outside Turkey, against incidents of violence and terror wherever they occur. The Turkish Republic is a unitary state. Our cherished people, who have established this state, have jointly consented and resolved to safeguard, advance, and develop our republic and our democracy. This sense of unity and solidarity is the most important factor that will facilitate the solution of the problem. Our government will continue its functions with an understanding that embraces all our citizens without discrimination. This understanding will consolidate our national unity and will help our democracy embrace its contemporary meaning.

Honorable Speaker and esteemed Deputies, attacking the existence of the state and its democratic authority through violence and terror cannot be considered within the limits of human rights and freedoms and is unacceptable

within any judicial system. The duty of the state is to implement, without any concessions, the understanding of a democratic state in accordance with the law and human rights. Our government will fully abide by this understanding. Those who create terror and anarchy and those who resort to violence and force will be dealt with in the most determined and harsh manner.

In addition to the general measures, our government will adopt the following specific measures for the solution of the problems: The state of emergency will be lifted gradually. The provisional village system will be reviewed and its shortcomings amended. In the struggle against terrorism, a distinction will definitely be made between innocent people and terrorists. All means will be recruited to enable local citizens to return to the villages they had abandoned but which have subsequently been rendered secure. Those who are unable to return will be provided with housing at a faster rate. Economic and social measures will be adopted with the aim of bringing prosperity and tranquillity to our people in the southeast region. The Southeast Anatolia Project will be accelerated. The private sector will be encouraged to supplement state resources with a view to increasing investments in the region.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, our government regards persuasion, conciliation, and mutual respect of opinions as the only means of conducting a democratic and political struggle. Our government also views attaining the ideal of a free, independent, developed, prestigious, great, and powerful Turkey as its most important goal. It will be possible to have tranquillity and security on solid and lasting foundations to the extent that political, economic, and social policies are implemented as a whole and pursued in a harmonious and balanced manner. We sincerely believe that relinquishing the democratic order or individual rights and freedoms cannot constitute a price to be paid for tranquillity and security.

Distinguished members of the Assembly, the introduction of economic balances and an atmosphere of confidence, as well as the creation of a climate that will provide all the conditions for a free market economy, will constitute the main goal of our economic performance.

Our membership in the Customs Union (CU) further increases the importance of our restructuring efforts. Above all, our government aims at guaranteeing the success of the CU, which will lead to the country's integration with Europe. To this end, the government believes that it is essential to resolve the problems pertaining to the economy's competition capacity — problems which have reached serious proportions.

The primary aim of our economic policy consists of waging an effective struggle against inflation and introducing a continuous process of economic growth and development in the country. To serve this end, measures aimed at securing economic stability will be accelerated. New arrangements that will encompass all economic activities will be launched in the field of taxation. The state's share in the economy will be decreased and all production policies, especially agricultural policies, will be realigned to correspond with the principles of international competition. The primary role of the state in economic activities will consist of securing an atmosphere of stability and preparing the necessary infrastructure for the development of the private initiative.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, mutually harmonious macroeconomic policies must be pursued if economic balances and an atmosphere of confidence are to be secured. All the necessary measures will be adopted to quickly reduce budgetary and public deficits, establish monetary discipline, and expand the financing sector. The primary goal is to effectively fight inflation and bring about a stable growth rate. With the help of stable and fast economic growth, it will be possible to develop our country and raise prosperity to the desired level and spread it across the population.

The interest rates and foreign currency rates will be determined by the market. The basic aim of our monetary policy will be to secure price stability and ensure that the financial markets develop and expand in line with free market rules. On the basis of this premise, efforts will be exerted to implement a realistic foreign currency policy in order to maintain the competitive edge of Turkish products.

It is essential to increase income and control expenditure in a bid to establish budgetary discipline. With regard to taxation, our main approach will consist of expanding the tax base rather than increasing tax rates, thus guaranteeing justice in taxes. All economic activities will be registered, documented, and taxed in a bid to expand the tax base and bring about a fairer distribution of the tax burden. Furthermore, the tax burden on the production factors will be alleviated and the taxes on consumption will be increased with a view to encouraging production and employment. The scope of the exceptions and exemptions, which diminish the effectiveness and productivity of the tax system and which erode the tax base, will be further narrowed down. The taxes on consumption will be maintained by means of the VAT model, in harmony with EU practices. The special consumption tax draft bill will be legislated to fulfill the requirements of the CU between Turkey and the EU.

Income generated from real estate in urban centers, a result of fast growth and urbanization, will be taxable. Real estate taxes will be rendered realistic in line with current property prices. The state revenue administration will be restructured to enable it to fulfill its legal commitments in a more effective and productive manner. Tax controls, in particular, will be rendered more effective by means of computerization. The government will continue to implement the policy of a single tax number for each citizen which was initiated in 1995 in a bid to standardize all taxation procedures and allow its use in all economic activities. Tax exceptions and exemptions, other than those pertaining to investments and exports, will be further restricted.

The state economic enterprises, including public sector banks, and the services and activities which no longer need to be undertaken by the public sector will be privatized at a fast rate. Public sector investments will be reviewed, the number of such projects will be decreased, ongoing investments will be concluded and rendered operational quickly, and priority will be accorded to infrastructure investments.

The capital market will be rendered more transparent, and controls on this market will be tightened. The expansion of the capital market will provide sources for investments to be undertaken by private firms. Legal amendments will be introduced into the financial sector, especially in the banking and insurance sectors. The structures and control mechanisms of these sectors will be reorganized.

All the deep-rooted measures we envisage to restructure the state and the economy are aimed at achieving the efficient utilization of resources, the more productive and speedy operation of the system, and the reduction of waste and losses. In line with the principle of a social state, public investments will be channeled into the health and education sectors in particular. We will attempt to eliminate regional and developmental differences and accord priority to traditional public services, especially energy. Within this framework, the share of education in public investments will be increased to 12 percent and the share of the energy sector to 22 percent.

Distinguished Deputies, the foreign currency income, which is estimated at \$40 billion for 1995, is expected to exceed \$90 billion in the year 2000 within the framework of the policies of opening up to the outside and integration with the international economy. It is further estimated that direct foreign capital investments will reach \$10 billion in the 1996-2000 period as a result of economic stability, the implementation of the CU with the EU, and the acceleration of the privatization

process. It is projected that the rate of unemployment will fall below 8 percent in 2000. Moreover, subsequent to these developments, employment opportunities will be provided for an additional 2 million people during the 1996-2000 period. The resulting savings on income and expenditure will relieve the tax burden on the public and, in return, expenditures that will contribute to productivity, especially investments, will be increased. During the coming five-year period, the government will try to ensure that the increase in public debts does not exceed public investments. The government is planning to reduce the ratio between public borrowing and the GNP to approximately 3 percent by 2000.

Distinguished Deputies, our goal is to lower the inflation rate to single-digit numbers. The share of private sector investments in the areas of energy, transportation, and communications will rise by means of privatization and the build-operate-transfer model. The necessary arrangements will quickly be concluded to ensure that the private sector and foreign investors also undertake investments in the energy sector. The government will continue to implement the existing liberal policies regarding foreign capital.

Importance will be attached to strengthening and providing continuity to the structure of the balance of payments and to the development of the capital movements on the basis of a framework that will contribute to the bolstering of the country's production capacity. The necessary measures will be adopted to accelerate the export of goods and services. Conformity with world prices will be secured in every field. The necessary resources for financing will be transferred to Eximbank with the aim of activating the credit and guarantee mechanisms.

The necessary arrangements will be instituted in line with the principles and rules of the World Trade Organization and the EU in order to match imports with national standards and health conditions and to prevent them from damaging the environment. The measures applied in this regard will be rendered more effective.

Incentive policies will be implemented with a view to developing new employment opportunities, supporting small- and medium-size enterprises, protecting the environment, contributing to the development of priority regions, and providing the structural harmony needed by the EU. Furthermore, enterprises' research and development activities and their related investments will be supported in order to attain, render compatible, and produce advanced technology.

The government will support the increase of productive employment and individuals' efforts to establish their own businesses. The competitive and technological capacity of small businessmen and artisans, who constitute

one of the most important dynamic factors of employment and production in the country, as well as of small- and medium-size businesses will be bolstered and measures will be adopted to enhance their productivity and export capabilities.

Industrialization constitutes one of the main factors in development. The government will bring about the development of industry, with emphasis on the private sector, by creating the suitable economic climate. An industrial framework will be built with emphasis on the private sector, a framework which stipulates integration with world markets and harmonization with the EU, which is open to the outside world, which has a high competitive edge, which is based on exports, and which utilizes national advantages such as raw materials and human resources. It is a primary target in industry to improve productivity and quality, to expand the use of flexible production systems and modern technology, to bring about the integration of small and big industrial enterprises, and achieve a production system with a high added value. Providing support on the basis of activity will be the main principle in encouraging industry. It will be the government's goal to procure basic inputs such as energy sources at world prices with the aim of maintaining and developing the competitive strength of the industrial sector.

The government will attach importance to the consistent amelioration of the distribution of income and to the enhancement and expansion of communal prosperity.

During the course of the evolutionary process to result from our integration with the EU, it will be a primary goal to attain compatibility with international institutions, rules, and standards within the framework of the country's realities.

The government will contribute to the development of an atmosphere of confidence by means of measures to inform the public in a systematic manner with regard to the determination and follow-up of macroeconomic policies and targets. The following goals are targeted by these policies: To secure a lasting price stability; to instill discipline with regard to the budget and the public financial sector; to ensure that the social security system starts creating resources in the economy rather than wasting them; to readjust the burdens placed by the state on the financial sector with a view to minimizing them; and to ensure that the economic administration fulfills a general organizational and directional function by operating harmoniously.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, the most important aspect of the protection of the consumer consists of the establishment of a free market order in the full sense of the word. Only in this way will it be possible to supply

abundant, varied, high-quality, and inexpensive goods and services. We are determined, on the one hand, to exert efforts to educate and inform the consumer, and on the other, to create an economic structure, which provides credit facilities that secure standardization, quality, guarantee, health, and security and which develops the conditions for competition. To this end, we will provide all the possible support for volunteer work in addition to official efforts.

Distinguished members of the Assembly, privatization activities will be accelerated in a bid to enhance economic productivity; reduce the cost base to a competitive level; provide free market conditions; and allow the state to allocate time and resources to justice, security, and large-scale infrastructure investments, which constitute its real functions, rather than to assume a commercial and productive role in the economy. The state can withdraw from production by means of privatization. Our fundamental approach on this issue incorporates the privatization of the public economic enterprises as well as the transfer of public services, which can be priced and marketed, to the private sector.

Privatization is a correct approach, but it must be effected in a serious manner, on the basis of solid legal foundations, and with a socially acceptable openness. Therefore, on the subject of privatization, care will be taken to create a competitive atmosphere, protect consumer rights, realize the necessary technological changes and investments, and prevent the formation of monopolies. On principle, privatization will encompass all public economic enterprises, including public sector banks. With regard to state economic enterprises whose privatization will take time, however, all the necessary measures will be adopted to bring about the productive operation of these enterprises in accordance with private sector standards. The legal measures pertaining to the privatization of the energy, transportation, and telecommunications organizations and services will be enacted in the first half of 1996.

Mr. Speaker, Honorable Deputies, we view our agricultural sector as a component of our policies to open up to the outside world and to become integrated into that world. Consequently, we will adopt the necessary measures to increase the production and export of the products in which we have a relative advantage by emphasizing these products. Agricultural products will be marketed under conditions of free competition. The administrations of the agricultural sales and marketing cooperatives will be made autonomous. The necessary arrangements will be carried out to eliminate operational redundancy with the aim of increasing the effectiveness and productiveness of the Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Unions, Pankobirlik (Turkish Beet Growers

Union), and Agricultural Credit Cooperatives Association. Furthermore, the establishment of producer unions, which will be active in guiding and marketing production and providing services to the producers, will be encouraged.

State intervention in the prices of agricultural products will be reduced; registered producers will be given direct income subsidy; input subsidies will be gradually lifted; demand surplus products will be decreased by restricting farming areas or adopting similar measures on the basis of criteria such as product quality and type and soil conditions, and farmers will be encouraged to replace these products with those with domestic and foreign demand.

The livestock-breeding sector will be accorded special importance, and the necessary measures will be adopted to develop the sectors that involve animal husbandry and dairy farming, in particular. Emphasis will be placed on improving pasture lands, providing the breeders with such pastures, increasing the production of fodder, and fighting animal diseases.

Irrigation projects that will contribute to the country's economy in the short term will be accorded priority. The total irrigated land, which stood at 3.3 million hectares in 1995, is expected to reach 4 million hectares by 2000, with an addition of 750,000 hectares during the 1996-2000 period. Moreover, improvements will be made to another 300,000 hectares of farmland. The Malatya, Cal, Igdir, Erzurum İkinci Merhale, and Asagi Buyuk Menderes projects will be concluded during this period. In addition, an area of 150,000 hectares will be opened for irrigation with the help of the Asagi Fırat Birinci Merhale project within the framework of GAP (Southeast Anatolia Project). Importance and priority will be given to regional irrigation projects such as the Central Anatolia and Konya Plain projects. The private sector will be encouraged to undertake seed production, seed injection, artificial seeding, and agricultural spraying activities.

The necessary legislation will be drafted to enable the establishment of regional wholesale crop and produce markets, specialized crop and produce exchanges, future markets, and farmers unions. The administration of the chambers of agriculture will be made democratic and the chambers more effective. An insurance system for agricultural products will be developed in order to stabilize the farmers' incomes. Importance will be attached to reforestation, erosion control, and the improvement of pastures in order to protect and improve the balance among vegetation, earth, and water resources in the country. The activities to develop private and communal forests will be supported.

Honorable Deputies, while privatization will be speeded up in the infrastructure sectors in order to increase efficiency, use resources outside public resources, and speedily bring about capacity increases, new financial models will be implemented, including the build-operate-transfer model, in order to make it easier for the private sector to invest in these fields.

The main aim in the energy sector is to acquire our energy needs on time, in a reliable manner, cheaply, and at a high quality. Nuclear stations will be set up that use international high technology, that create a healthy environment, and that give priority consideration to the safety of the people. Our target is to raise our total electrical power capacity to 28,000 megawatts and our production capacity to 140 billion kilowatt hours by the year 2000.

The construction of the infrastructure for the natural gas that will arrive from neighboring and regional countries will be speeded up, and we will try to ensure that the natural gas pipelines that will carry the natural gas from those countries to the world markets will pass through our country. Similar work will be done in connection with the oil pipelines. We will speed up oil exploration activities both inside and outside the country.

In order to encourage productive administration, the state will gradually withdraw from the processing of coal and other metals, after making the necessary social and technical infrastructure reorganization, and then hand this field over to the private sector. Those mines that are impossible to run productively will be liquidated.

Importance will be attached to improving transportation and communications services, developing their infrastructure, and increasing efficiency. Priority will be given to the construction of highways, airports, ports, and marinas, and to increasing their capacity and standards. By the year 2000, the length of concrete asphalt roads will reach 8,500 km. From 1996 to 2000, 500 km of divided roadways will be inaugurated, and the geometric standards will be improved on 5,500 km of roadways. During the same period, we will build 16,500 km of asphalt roads, 50,000 km of stabilized roads, and 2,000 km of concrete village roads. We will continue to build roadways in order to meet domestic needs and to benefit from the advantages of the links with the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. Measures will be taken to run, maintain, and protect the existing roadways.

Realistic measures will be taken to reduce the losses of the Turkish State Railways and to determine its role in the sector. That establishment will be restructured.

We will take measures that will enable our maritime commercial fleet to receive a sufficient share of transportation concerning third countries, and measures that will increase its share of domestic transportation. Our aim is to expand our share of maritime transportation on the basis of freight, not tonnage. Our maritime commercial fleet will be modernized to include modern means of transportation.

We will speed up and develop the work being conducted in connection with sailing through the straits and the relevant safety measures.

We will continue our integrate into the world economy in the field of telecommunications and communications. We expect to raise our telephone network capacity to 24 million lines and the number of telephone subscribers to 23 million by the year 2000. The necessary legislation will be carried out quickly to issue licenses in the field of telecommunications and to sell the shares of the Turkish Telecom Corporation. The Postal Authority will be restructured. The necessary reorganization will be undertaken to develop civil aviation.

Providing drinking water to those settlements that have no or insufficient water resources will be given priority. Drinking water will be brought to all the villages in the rural areas. The build-operate-transfer model will be encouraged for the construction of drinking water, sewage, and water purification systems. The cooperation between the municipalities and the Bank of Provinces for providing these services will be strengthened.

Honorable members of the lofty Assembly, 1 January 1996, which marks the start of the Customs Union [CU], opens a new page in the development process of our Republic. Our next target is full membership in the EU. The gradual elimination of the differences that have existed between the industrial standards of the EU member countries and Turkey will enable export goods to be produced with the same standards both in Turkey and in the EU countries, and will also ensure that our industrial installations reach more rational dimensions. With the CU, Turkey will effectively pursue a policy of competition. In this way, monopolization will be prevented in our country and competition safeguarded. The necessary conditions will be created so that prices are set under conditions of free competition. The necessary efforts will be made to receive financial support from the EU. Work will be conducted to ensure the free movement of services and agricultural goods on the road toward complete economic integration with the EU. Within this framework, we will continue to undertake initiatives at the Intergovernmental Conference, which will review the structure and borders of the EU, to improve the re-

lations between Turkey and the EU and to maintain their existing status.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, we are determined to restructure the state administration. The restructuring will be aimed at protecting and developing the individual with his rights and freedoms. The state will return to its basic duties and will be restructured with the aim of serving the citizens. In the restructuring of the state, our basic aim is to bring about a productive state structure in a size dictated by service. In this approach, the main principles are a withdrawal of the state from economic activity, a return to its basic duties, and the elimination of bureaucratic obstacles. It is one of our basic principles to ensure that the state trusts its citizens. Trusting the words of the citizens in their relations with the state will be basic, and it will be the duty of the concerned public office to investigate the truth of these remarks.

Everyone will pay for public services to the extent that he or she benefits from them. In implementing this principle, those who do not have the means to pay, as well as the handicapped, will be protected.

A new public personnel regime that encompasses all public personnel and balances authority and responsibility will be implemented. The number of state personnel will be in line with the demands of a thrifty state organization. The total number of the existing cadres will not be increased for five years. Additional needs will be met through appointments to vacated positions.

Honorable Deputies, in order to become integrated with the rest of the world, Turkey must review its legal system and universalize it, and it must implement the laws equally for all the citizens. In order to get just, speedy, effective, and economical results in the services of the judicial mechanism, a radical reorganization will be undertaken in the structure of the organization, in the legal principles, and in the policies concerning the judges, prosecutors, and other legal professionals. The qualities needed in the judicial system are truth, speed, and economy. Everyone must have the right to seek his or her right. That is basic.

The outdated aspects of the existing laws that cannot cope with today's necessities will be sifted through to see whether they are in line with the principle of the supremacy of law, and the principle of objectively applying the law. The laws will also be updated in terms of legal language. Provisions that are incompatible with contemporary democracies will be eliminated. The bottlenecks and accumulations in the judicial system will be eliminated speedily and properly. The judicial system will be changed because it will be made open, simple, and fast. For this purpose, the judicial organization will be restructured. The necessary reorganization will be

undertaken in criminal law so that freedom-restricting sentences and judicial fines can be turned into administrative fines.

Deficiencies will be eliminated in the prisons' administrative and physical structures and in security measures. Efforts will be speeded up to enable convicts to become productive members of society, and security will be fully established.

In education, it is our main aim to raise people who are loyal to Ataturk's principles and reforms; who accept our national and moral values; who are knowledgeable and think scientifically; who are respectful and tolerant of all; who are loving and secular; who implement pluralistic democracy in their everyday lives; who have a developed sense of personal responsibility and social sensitivity; who are inclined to engage in the production of information and technology; who are skillful, self-sufficient, and self-confident; and who are equipped with the information and skills necessary to meet the needs of the information age.

Compulsory education will be increased to eight years. Pupils will be given direction beginning with the second phase of elementary education and continuing through secondary education in order to allow them to be trained in the various professional areas in accordance with their interests and skills. Secondary education will be reorganized in a bid to prevent bottlenecks in the transition to higher education. Secondary education programs will be redirected toward higher education, vocational technical training, and life in general. Within this context, importance, priority, and weight will be given to apprenticeship and professional technical training aimed at providing vocational, employment, and professional enhancement in order to raise the level of semiskilled manpower, which our country needs. The youths who have undergone such training will be encouraged to establish their own businesses, and they will be provided with the necessary loans to this end.

Higher education will be reorganized. YOK [Higher Education Council] will be made responsible for coordination alone. The establishment of Religious Trust universities will be encouraged. The private sector will be motivated to open schools, and the Religious Trusts will be motivated to establish private universities. This sector will be encouraged to assume a bigger role with regard to educational, technical, and technological development and the production of educational tools and equipment. The necessary legal arrangements will be undertaken for the establishment of private universities. Importance will be attached to international cooperation, especially with the United States and the EU, in the field of science and technology, and measures will

be adopted in the state's important foreign procurements to allow the transfer of knowledge and technology that will enhance our skills in the field of science and technology.

Widespread education will be reorganized with the aim of steering our people, especially our women, toward production by enabling them to acquire a profession and develop their manual skills. Precautions will be taken to allow our citizens residing abroad to protect their national heritage, to enable their children to benefit from the educational opportunities of their country of residence, and to facilitate their adaptation to the Turkish educational system and to society upon their return to Turkey.

The educational cooperation conducted with the Turkic republics and our kin communities and the projects based on this cooperation will be carried out in a more effective and powerful manner.

Honorable Deputies, the health system will be addressed from the aspects of financing, administration and organization, manpower, demand for services, and procedural issues. The state will continue to provide the following basic health services free of charge to all citizens: health clinics, mother and child clinics, and tuberculosis dispensaries. Alongside the expansion of the health insurance system, the hospitals will be privatized. The insurance system whereby the entire population will be brought under health coverage will be adopted in phases. The state will pay the health insurance premiums of those who are unable to make this payment themselves. The state will thus support the needy people, rather than the institutions that provide the services. The Health Ministry will cease to be an institution operating hospitals and will be restructured to assume the role of determining and supervising standards and norms in coordination with the relevant institutions.

Honorable Speaker, Esteemed Deputies, it is very important to secure labor peace in terms of guaranteeing internal peace and tranquility in our country. Therefore, the state-worker-employer triangle must be in a state of constant search for dialogue and conciliation. We believe that under the current circumstances, the need for conciliation and dialogue is greater than ever. The government will exert every possible effort to create such an atmosphere. We will render the Economic and Social Council operational and continuous. Cooperation will be conducted with the relevant sides and institutions in order to establish a tranquil labor climate. We will start by improving working conditions, enabling workers to receive their fair share of the income, preventing work accidents, guaranteeing workplace safety, ensuring that the collective wage negotiations are con-

ducted in a healthy manner, and introducing the legal arrangements concerning the unionization of public sector employees in accordance with the recent constitutional amendments.

The conditions of our civil servants and retired personnel will be taken into consideration, and the necessary improvements will be effected within the constraints of the budget. Maximum efforts will be exerted to perpetuate the ties of our citizens abroad, who constitute an extension of our labor life, with Turkey; to preserve their national identity; to solve the problems regarding their work conditions; and to protect all their rights and interests. All the necessary work will be undertaken especially with regard to the solution of our citizens' problems in the field of family, education, social security, and readaption, should they decide to return to Turkey.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, the social security institutions are currently facing a chronic financial bottleneck. As a principle, the insurance services of the social security institutions will be rendered on the basis of a balance between benefit and premium through their own financial means. Insurance services that have not been paid for will be avoided. Private insurance will be supported as a supplementary service to the existing social security system and will depend on demand. In this context, the government will encourage private health and retirement insurance. Control mechanisms that will secure individuals' trust in private insurance companies will be increased. For the state, it is important that everyone become a member of a social security organization. The government regards social security as the insurance of the democratic regime because it constitutes the individual's guarantee.

The state's task with regard to social security and retirement issues will be redefined, and the state will actually fulfill the task of supervision. Importance will be attached to attempts aimed at utilizing the citizens' savings in a more sound and efficient way. Efforts will also be exerted to resolve social security problems on the basis of insurance regulations. The reasons that prod people to shun social security coverage and to avoid employing workers with social security will be eliminated, and the entire population will be provided with social security. Health institutions will be organized separately from the social security system. The necessary social and legal arrangements will be effected for the disabled. The prevalence of labor peace is very important for the establishment of internal peace and tranquility in our country.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, a framework law will be legislated outlining the basic guidelines of the distribution of duty, authority, responsibility, and resources

between the central administration and the local authorities in line with the principles of efficiency in public services, rational utilization of resources, and democratic and participatory administration. This law will set out the nature of the services to be conducted by the central and municipal administrations; enable the transfer of the tasks and authorities pertaining to municipal services, which are currently being provided by the central administration, to the local authorities; and determine the fundamentals and procedures concerning the administrative and financial structures and supervision of the local authorities. Alongside the move to minimize the administrative executive right of the central administration, the necessary measures will be adopted to exercise this right in an effective manner. The composition of municipal and provincial councils will be reorganized to allow for greater participation on the part of people's representatives, including mukhtars. The privatization of certain services of the local authorities will be encouraged, and guidance will be provided in this regard.

The happiness and prosperity of the individual is both the aim and source of our social policies. The family constitutes the fundamental institution with which this goal can be achieved. Strengthening the family is tantamount to strengthening the state and society. For this reason, it is essential that the government cooperate not only with central family plans and programs but also with local administrations and civilian organizations. This new approach will be the basis of our social service policies regarding the elderly, in particular, and the destitute, children who need protection, invalids and the disabled, and women and children who are abandoned by their families.

Women are the most effective factor in the family and guide, cultivate, unite, and protect this institution. The work undertaken in a bid to eliminate those arrangements that adversely affect the status of Turkish women in society will be pursued. Legal and administrative reorganization will be undertaken in a bid to elevate the level of education of Turkish women and enable them to effectively serve in all areas and play a role in decisionmaking mechanisms.

Importance will be given to mother and child care. We will make sure that the spiritual, intellectual, and physical development of our children and youths will be in line with the principles of the Turkish Republic and our national and moral values. Measures will be taken to eliminate the problems of youths, contribute to their development, and increase their participation. Measures will also be taken in those services that take care of the education, health, work life, social security, and employment of youths, and those that involve putting to good use the free time of youths, who are the foundation

of society and the guarantee of the future. Importance will be given to preventive and deterrent measures that aim at eliminating those factors that promote drugs, alcohol, gambling, and crime. Efforts will be exerted to have our youths participate in politics and in the decisionmaking process.

Importance will be given to sports in a bid to develop a society that is sound in mind and health. Priority will be given to implementing up-to-date developments in training, health, science, and technology in the areas of physical education and sports. Priority will be given to setting aside sports and green areas when urban development planning is undertaken in cooperation with local administrations to increase the number of facilities. Necessary efforts will be exerted in a bid to develop all branches of sports. We will exert every effort necessary at all levels to have the Olympics take place in our country and accelerate the extensive work undertaken along those lines.

Honorable Deputies: Public servants, workers, pensioners, farmers, tradesmen, and artisans — what we describe as the middle class — make up the most important section of the economic and societal framework of all countries, whether developed or on the road to development. It is impossible to strengthen the social framework of the country and establish social stability without first solving the problems of this sector and securing their happiness. The economic measures, which will be undertaken, will have a favorable impact mostly on this sector. The middle class will assume its rightful place in the wake of the measures that will be taken to combat inflation, secure price stability, and protect the rights of the consumers. Our main aim is to adjust the distribution of income in a stable manner and elevate social prosperity and make it widespread.

We will encourage employment in the production lines and encourage individuals to establish their own businesses. Direct assistance to low-income groups will be extended in a bid to increase their income, and the social services rendered to this sector, such as education, health, and others, will be supported.

Honorable Deputies, the loan prospects of artisans and tradesman will be increased. The tax regulations that make the working conditions of this sector difficult will be reassessed. Measures will be taken to increase the production and profits of small- and medium-scale businesses and improve their quality and standards through a transfer of technology so as to enable them to compete within the CU.

A loan-guarantee fund will be developed within the framework of risk-investment companies in a bid to secure easy payment loans to make it possible to realize

investment-oriented, profitable, and productive projects for small- and medium-scale enterprises. We will enable small- and medium-scale enterprises to pursue their businesses in organized and small-industry areas, to organize themselves in multipartner companies, receive support from EU resources, and get in touch with international markets.

Valuable members of the Assembly, priority will be given to infrastructure investments in touristic sites such as transportation, water, electricity, drainage, and irrigation. Special care will be given to protect the natural beauty of Turkey. An effective and comprehensive campaign will be launched to promote Turkey abroad. New areas of potential will be created in order to improve the seasonal and geographical distribution of tourism by taking into consideration the changing preferences of consumers abroad.

Our main goal will be to develop and spread our national culture, which constitutes the basis of our development, modernization, and openness to the outside world. For this reason, we will exert efforts to explore and promote our culture.

We will give importance to safeguarding all our cultural treasures. Our library services will be increased, both in quantity and quality. We will give importance to archive services and historical treasures and buildings, and measures to prevent historical theft and smuggling. The main goal of our culture and art policy will be to develop literature, music, painting, folklore, cinema, and theater, all of which play an important role in the social and cultural life of our nation. We will exert maximum effort to achieve this goal.

It is our aim to protect the national identity of our citizens abroad, to strengthen their ties with Turkey, and to develop our social and cultural ties with the Turkic republics and all other countries. The necessary steps will be taken to determine, protect, and promote our historical and cultural work outside Turkey. In promoting our cultural heritage inside and outside the country, besides the public institutions and establishments, we will encourage the activities of the private enterprises, waqfs, and associations.

Honorable Deputies, it is our aim to ensure national solidarity and unity as well as tranquillity, peace, and brotherhood. Consequently, greater importance will be attached to religious services. By considering the great importance of religion and religious services in the life of our nation, we will ensure that the officials who extend this service remain outside all kinds of political considerations and arguments.

The historical and cultural work that turns this geographical land into our homeland are in the hands of the waqfs. Maximum care will be displayed for the protection, maintenance, and restoration of this work. The activities of the waqfs will be encouraged.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, I want to discuss the bills that we plan to have parliament ratify by the end of the year in order to ensure that our government program succeeds. We believe that the following bills should be ratified urgently: the bill on private consumption tax; the bill on Telecom; the bills on social security and Bag-Kur (Social Security Association); the bill on the Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Unions; the bill on banks, the capital market, and social insurance; the bill on customs; the bill on the customs under secretariat; and the bill for the establishment of an economic and social council.

Furthermore, the ratification of the following bills by the end of this year is also important: the amendment to the law on taxes and duties; the bills on the CU; the amendments to the law on the Central Bank; the amendment to Law 2,380 concerning the general budget allotments to the municipalities and local administrations; the amendment to the law on state tenders; the bill on municipal revenues; the amendment to Law 1,319 on property taxes; the amendment to Law 3,628 on the declaration of assets; the bill for the prevention of corruption; and the bill that will record economic activities that have not yet been recorded.

It is also important to ratify this year the bill increasing compulsory education to eight years and the bill concerning health services. We also consider the ratification of the amendments to the following bills to be essential: the traffic law and the civil aviation law; Law 5,442 on the state administration of the provinces; the laws on local administrations, municipalities, and villages; Law 3,030 on the greater city municipalities; the laws on the press and Turkish Radio and Television; and the Civil Law.

I leave it to the lofty Assembly to ensure that the work that has been conducted on the TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly) statute for a long time is concluded as soon as possible, in order to ensure that the TGNA works faster and more productively.

Honorable Deputies, the developments that have been occurring in the world and in the regional countries during the past few years have added new dimensions to the old concepts of threat and risk. Turkey is inside the triangle of confusion and instability produced by the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. Consequently, the existence of a disciplined and strong army, which is our national and historical tradition, is

essential in order to defend our country under all kinds of conditions. We consider it essential to acquire the means necessary to train our heroic army in the best possible way, to equip it with modern weapons and equipment, and to strengthen it. It is essential to equip the Turkish Armed Forces with the necessary command and control systems, and with the means and capability to use high technology in order to be able to carry out operations under any conditions. Consequently, we will develop our defense industry, strengthen our army, reduce the number of soldiers, and acquire the resources and means necessary to train the personnel.

Honorable Speaker and Deputies, Ataturk's principles will continue to constitute the basis of our foreign policy. Our aim is to protect peace in the country, in the region, and in the world; and to develop our friendship and cooperation with all countries on the condition of reciprocity.

Being in a very sensitive position geographically, our country will continue to actively contribute to the efforts for the peaceful solution of regional conflicts.

We will pursue the constructive stand we have adopted regarding various disagreements in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. Turkey, which is an integral part of the Western world and Europe, is also a Middle Eastern and Asian country and a factor of stability in the Balkans, where serious problems and conflicts are taking place.

One of the main goals of our foreign policy is to secure Turkey's full membership in the EU as soon as possible. The legislative, economic, social, and administrative arrangements to that effect will be speedily realized. Continual efforts will be exerted to further the CU agreement with the EU.

We seek to pursue our relations with the United States in line with the understanding of friendship and alliance and further the economic cooperation by attaching to it more importance.

We will pursue our relations with the Russian Federation within the framework of past principles, which have been carefully respected up to now, and within the understanding of furthering the possibilities of cooperation between the two countries.

Another of our main goals is to strengthen the special relations Turkey has with the Central Asia republics and Azerbaijan by way of expanding economic and cultural cooperation.

We will proceed with our constructive efforts along the lines of Armenia's withdrawing from the territories it has occupied and ending the conflict in Chechnya so

that the peace talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan can culminate in a lasting peace.

We are determined to further our relations of friendship and cooperation with the Islamic countries. It is our government's sincere wish that the Arab-Israel conflict in the Middle East will end quickly and that the peace process will succeed. All the countries in the region will benefit from this result.

Terrorism poses a grave danger for democracy and peace in the world and particularly in our region. Every measure necessary will be taken against the countries that support terrorist actions targeting Turkey.

Our government attaches great importance to safeguarding Iraq's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Turkey is against any kind of set up in northern Iraq that is not in line with these principles.

We will see to it that Poised Hammer, which is a temporary arrangement, is reassessed in line with its past performances and in terms of Turkey's security concerns.

The developments in the Balkans are promising. We will continue to closely observe and support the steps taken toward peace by the sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the aftermath of the Dayton peace agreement. Within this framework, we will continue to actively contribute to the peace process and give support to the reconstruction efforts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Turkey will actively participate in all the international organizations of which it is a member. We will exert efforts to further our relations with the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

We will exert efforts to assist the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization, which sets an example of regional integration, in strengthening the interests of regional countries.

Valuable Deputies, Turkey seeks to have good-neighbor, friendly, and cooperative relations with Greece. The last crisis in the Aegean is a manifestation of the danger posed by the unsolvability of the conflicts between the two countries that have been ongoing for many years. The only way to achieve a solution is through negotiations and conciliation. With this understanding, we would like all our problems with Greece to be solved through direct contacts and meetings. Turkey sincerely believes that everybody will benefit if the Aegean Sea is turned into a sea of peace and friendship between the two countries.

We support the UN negotiations process, which aims at resolving the Cyprus issue between the two communi-

ties on the island through direct talks in a bid to secure a bizonal federal solution. Turkey will continue to exert efforts to support the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in all areas and stand by the just cause of our kinsmen until a lasting solution, which both sides will accept through their own free will, to the issue is found.

Human rights has become a universal principle by which all countries have to abide. Turkey will exert every effort possible in order to secure these rights in the best possible way in line with the agreements it has signed and the wishes of the nation.

Honorable Speaker and honorable members of the lofty Assembly, we have to admit that we are facing important issues when the conditions of the country and the world are taken into consideration. Undoubtedly, our government has to shoulder the responsibility of solving these issues, and our government is determined to exert every effort possible to that effect. In solving these problems, however, we need the help of all the organizations and institutions, primarily the opposition parties and our valuable deputies, and the support of our beloved nation. For this reason, we, as the government, will do everything we can in a bid to pursue and maintain a multifaceted dialogue and conciliation.

Upon concluding my words, I implore God to assist us in our work and extend to you my deepest respect.

Turkey: Yilmaz Declares No Change in Cyprus Policy

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[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz has stated that Turkey changing its Cyprus policy is out of the question. During his meeting with Dervis Eroglu,

leader of the Turkish Cypriot National Unity Party, at the parliament, Yilmaz noted that the government specified in its program that its stand on the Cyprus issue will be same as all the previous governments of the Turkish Republic. Yilmaz hoped that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC] would achieve stability in its own administration in order for these policies to be implemented.

[Begin Yilmaz recording] We have a long and deep-rooted friendship with Mr. Eroglu. Within this framework, we seek to pursue the dialogue that we were conducting while I was in the opposition. I believe that these meetings will make it easier for us to contribute to solving the TRNC's problems. As has been true up to now, our government will continue to help the TRNC in surmounting every kind of problem and is determined that together we will shoulder their just cause. [end recording]

Eroglu, in turn, expressed great pleasure at seeing Yilmaz assume the post of prime minister once again.

Explaining that the Turkish Cypriot people are aware that Yilmaz shows great interest in the Cyprus issue, Eroglu said that he will brief Yilmaz on the developments taking place in the TRNC.

In reply to a reporter's question on the arrest of Cetin Emec's murderer, Yilmaz said that this is a very welcome development.

[Begin Yilmaz recording] In the coming period, we will extend all necessary assistance to the efforts exerted by our security forces in clarifying unsolved crimes. I hope that we will experience favorable developments of this kind in the near future as well. [end recording]

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